Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-055
Tuesday
22 March 1994

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FBIS-EEU-94-055 *22 March 1994*

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Meksi Comments on 1994 State Budget Draft

AU1903213294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Mar 94

[Text] [Announcer] The People's Assembly approved the draft of the state budget for 1994. Gezim Qinami reports:

[Qinami] This morning the People's Assembly continued proceedings in a plenary session to discuss the draft of the state budget for 1994. The deputies discussed it at length and later approved the draft with a majority. At the end of the session, we interviewed Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi.

[Begin Meksi recording] The People's Assembly today approved the state budget for 1994; it is the most important financial act for the government and country. Of course, the approval of the budget comes after long preparation by the government in every aspect—in examining the possibilities of incomes, in planning expenses, and in carrying out a series of laws to do with the restructuring of the Albanian economy and the reformation of the organization of all judicial activity.

Of course, this budget bill was examined for approximately three weeks by the parliament's various commissions and remarks were made. The government considered these remarks, depending on the case, by debating with the deputies in the commissions, thus seeing the utility of these changes and reflecting these remarks in the budget, because when we withdraw money from one side, we need to balance the other side.

On this occasion, I would like to thank all commissions and deputies, regardless of party affiliation, for the valuable propositions made. This is a new experience for all of us, which will certainly be improved in the coming years.

Compared to a year ago, the state budget includes, of course, a series of improvements in its structure, as well as in the government's greater financial possibilities to face various problems, because we should consider that the budget deficit is lower this year. The financing of the state from abroad and banks is lower, thus, incomes are greater than before. At the same time, inflation has been forecast at 19 percent this year, compared to about 35 percent last year.

The government is experiencing more difficult working conditions, but the country's economic growth makes it possible to overcome it. Of course, this year's forecast is positive. While last year we had more than 10 percent increase in general production, this year it has been forecast at about 8 percent. My opinion is that it may even be more. Of course, it is up to all Albanians, as now it is not the government that is working to fulfill the plan, but all the free and private Albanians, just as the state enterprises. They deposit incomes into the state budget and the state can function to the benefit of all the citizens and Albania as well.

I wanted to say that we can implement many things this year because we close the second year of governing in a month and many things can be done as the Albanian economy has grown, the social basis of this state has been changed, private companies constitute the majority, and laws enabling the forward progress of the Albanian economy have been changed. However, one thing should be considered—that Albanians do this. [ends recording]

'Main Figures' of Draft 1994 Budget Published

AU2103093694 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 20 Mar 94 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Where the Budget Will Go—Defense Privileged"]

[Text] Tirana—Here are some of the main figures in a breakdown of the state budget for 1994. The data are taken from the Budget Bill just submitted to parliament. It is evident that the largest funds of more than 6 billion leks go to the Education Ministry. Most of this, or 4.4 billion leks, will go for local funding and only 500 million will be used for national funding. The Health Ministry comes second, with funds amounting to more than 4.9 billion leks. Two other ministries, those of construction and defense, are financed to the tune of more than 4 billion leks. The state budget also gives priority to the Public Order Ministry and the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, both of which receive more than 2 billion leks. Of a total budget of 74.140 billion leks, more than 63.927 billion leks will be used for central funding. More than 13.551 billion leks of the budget will be used as investment finance.

Institution	Total	National	Local	Investments
	(in thousands of leks)			
Presidency	32,000	32,000	0	2,000
Presidency of the People's Assembly	102,000	102,000	0	2,000
Council of Ministers	47,000	47,000	0	2,000
Ministry of Mineral Resources and Energy	845,500	845,000	0	797,000
Agriculture and Food Ministry	760,000	756,870	3,130	260,000
Construction Ministry	4,833,838	2,299,257	2,534,581	1,630,000
Transportation Ministry	980,162	790,162	190,000	400,000
Industry and Trade Ministry	376,000	78,897	297,103	14,000

Ministry of Tourism	16,000	16,000	0	2,000
Finance Ministry	93,000	93,000	0	2,000
Education Ministry	6,003,000	1,570,100	4,432,900	500,000
Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport	406,000	273,510	227,490	6,000
Health Ministry	4,934,000	4,937,000	3,169,787	1,764,213
Justice Ministry	306,000	306,000	0	6,000
Foreign Ministry	709,000	709,000	0	9,000
Public Order Ministry	2,355,000	2,355,000	0	55,000
Defense Ministry	4,190,000	4,190,000	4,190,000	60,000
National Intelligence Service	320,000	320,000	0	10,000
Radio-Television Directorate	202,000	202,000	0	2,000
State Control Commission	58,500	58,500	0	1,500
Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare	3,593,000	3,593,000	0	30,000
Environmental Protection Committee	21,000	21,000	0	6,000
National Privatization Agency	16,000	16,000	0	1,000
Expenses for District Administration	835,000	75,500	763,000	75,500
Social Security Directorate	10,627,000	10,627,000	0	2,000
Customs Directorate	100,000	100,000	0	30,000
Financial Police Directorate	142,000	142,000	0	2,000
Forestry Police Directorate	251,000	251,000	0	1,000
Political Parties and Associations	50,000	50,000	0	0
Taxation Directorate	95,000	95,000	0	5,000
Financial Aid	2,968,000	2,968,000	0	0
Loan for Critical Imports Program	5,941,000	5,941,000	0	0
Enterprise Reconstruction Agency	1,784,000	1,784,000	0	500,000
Committee for Former Victims of Persecution	1,142,000	1,142,000	0	10,000

Tight Monetary Policy Restrains Inflation

AU2003183794 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 20 Mar 94 p 3

[Unattributed report: "New Inflation Levels in the First Months of 1994"]

[Text] Tirana—The tight monetary policy expressed in a squeeze on credit and budget expenditure continues to bear fruit in restraining inflation to relatively low and acceptable levels under conditions of economic crisis. Data from the Statistics Institute show that in January 1994, the Consumer Price Index (CPI), which remains the main indicator of inflation in Albania, rose 2.02 percent compared with December 1992. In February, the CPI rose 1.70 percent compared with January. It seems that higher prices for fuel and passenger transportation tickets in particular led to a rise in the index. The high profit levels enjoyed by traders on the market also continues to exert a strong influence on inflation. Before reaching consumers, goods pass through the hands of several traders, which increases their price artificially. It was this phenomenon that obliged the government a short time ago to reverse its policy of price liberalization and impose a price ceiling on sugar.

Starting from January, the CPI will be calculated on a new basis. "The year used as a basis for comparison will be 1994 instead of 1990," Statistics Institute specialists told GAZETA SHQIPTARE.

Keko Accused of Politicizing 'Ordinary' Scandal

AU2003194494 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 20 Mar 94 p 2

[Ilirian Bardhi article: "A Victim That Accuses the State and Not the Real Culprit?!—Why Does Mr. Keko Not Press Charges?]

[Text] The extreme politicization of ordinary and even banal incidents is nowadays becoming a mass epidemic. Even when people are entirely their own victims, are drunk, or are involved in immoral and illegal business, they advertise themselves or are advertised by others as heroes or innocent victims.

What is absurd is that in this case too, short-term and long-term political calculations have led to the state being held to blame.

It seems this epidemic has affected Teodor Keko.

Keko knows better than anybody how this incident happened. It is also well known that there is no Albanian who will step out in front of you when you are with your wife, if you have not put him down in a way you should not.

Of course, we do not excuse or in any way support the author of this act of violence, but on the other hand it is not fair or moral to purposely politicize for the purposes of publicity anybody's hooliganism, drunkenness, or ordinary scandals.

Keko intentionally and calculatedly accuses the state, when it is well known that he was struck in the presence of others, and that he knows his assailant and the motive for the attack.

Keko's failure so far to press charges against his assailant is highly significant and compromising. He would do well to turn to the organs of justice in order to fully expose the truth. Why does Mr. Keko not do this?

BSP Asked To Debate Congress Documents

AU1803151294 Sofia NOVINI 5 in Bulgarian 14 Mar 94 p 7

["Full text" of "address to the Bulgarian Socialists," adopted at a plenum of the Bulgarian Socialist Party held in Sofia on 13 March]

[Text] The ideological debate within the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] that has been going on for the last four years has entered a decisive stage. The discussion of the prepared drafts of the program document is an important moment in the life of the party, and it must demonstrate the irreversibility of the processes of renewal within the BSP.

The debate in the runup to the congress is meant to confirm the ideological orientation mapped out by the "Manifesto on Democratic Socialism" and the "Platform for Further Renewal of the BSP" and to substantiate, supplement, and intensify the main characteristics of this orientation—that of a party of democratic socialism, forming part of the Bulgarian and world Left that is undergoing renewal.

The active and intense debate on the submitted draft programs should provide the answer to some of the key questions in the ideological evolution of the BSP, such as:

—the nature of the contemporary world and Bulgarian society, the changes that are ensuing in them, and their prospects as we approach the 21st century;

—the left alternative as a path for rescuing the country from the socioeconomic crisis in the course of the transition to a democratic, social state based on the rule of law;

—the BSP's ideological, social, and political identity;

—the changes needed in the BSP's organization and statutes; and

—the integration of the Bulgarian Socialists in the European and world Left.

The intensive, in-depth ideological debate will contribute to understanding and assimilating the new views contained in the various program documents and help to bring them to the notice of every Socialist and BSP sympathizer.

The municipal BSP councils should create the necessary conditions for ensuring that the forthcoming discussion is methodical and well organized, that the views expressed are summarized and disseminated in popular form, and that these views are presented in a timely fashion to the BSP Supreme Council. What is needed is not that each BSP organization should pass a formal vote of approval, but that each organization and every Socialist should give their own standpoints on the main issues of the ideological debate and the ways they are treated in the individual draft program documents. Such a standpoint can only be formed by a discussion in depth that involves all the party organs, the main and municipal party organizations, and every Socialist.

The discussion should be an active and critical one, while observing the democratic principles established over the past four years. The BSP Supreme Council is sure that the discussion of the program will proceed in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and forbearance, which will help to develop and enhance internal party relations. The discussion and adoption of a new socialist program should create conditions for rallying the party and strengthening its organizational and political unity.

In the course of the discussion new ideas should be generated to enhance a future BSP program document. We call upon all the teams of authors to present their own draft documents before the accountability-election campaign enters its final phase, that is, before the municipal organizations hold their conferences. As the campaign proceeds, their participation through the submission of their drafts will enhance the debate and improve the resolutions of the meetings and conferences, promote a meaningful elucidation of the problems prior to the 41st congress, and considerably facilitate the work of the congress itself.

We hope that we will succeed in mobilizing the BSP's political and scientific potential in the time remaining before the upcoming congress. The discussion of the program document is a good occasion to motivate the organizations, stimulate the ideological trends, and encourage the clubs of socialist intellectuals to involve themselves in a public dialogue encompassing the entire spectrum of left-wing intellectual thinking.

The success of the debate on the program is unthinkable unless a permanent and authoritative speaker's platform is made available. It is essential to ensure greater commitment of the party publications to this goal, especially DUMA and NOVO VREME, so that they reflect in suitable form the views, remarks, and proposals of the participants in the debate.

We should not limit the debate to the party organizations. The discussion of the ideological problems are a good opportunity to open up the Bulgarian Socialists to Bulgarian society, the European Left, and the world at large. We should seek a broad public debate on the way out of the crisis and the problems of the transition to a democratic, social state based on the rule of law, a debate that will establish the image of the BSP as a fundamental constructive factor in Bulgaria's political life.

Such a debate will enable the 41st BSP Congress to make a comprehensive, in-depth assessment of the results of the ideological discussion within the BSP and to impart a new impetus to the party's efforts to confirm its program, the result of which is of immense importance not only for the Socialists themselves, but also for the Bulgarian Left and the whole of Bulgarian society.

Lilov's Comments at BSP Plenum Reported

AU1803141294 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 14 Mar 94 p 2

[Report by Teodora Encheva]

[Text] On 13 March an expanded plenum of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] discussed the party's program for the 41st BSP Congress. The OSD [Alliance for Social Democracy], ASO [Alternative Socialist Association], "Marxist Alternative," and "Road to Europe" groups expressed their views on the draft political document prepared by the Center for Strategic Analyses and Studies. Only the OSD presented its own program in written form. It will be disseminated in the same way as the draft document proposed by the "strategist Lilov." Lilov reprimanded those who unthinkingly reject the "Chinese model" of socialism. The BSP is a party of the poor, not of the destitute, he said. We are also defenders of the emerging "middle class," he added at the end of his speech. According to him, the transition in Bulgaria should take 20 years. First, he said, the country has to emerge from the grave economic and social crisis; second, it must adapt to the new "postindustrial" trends in the world.

Today we are discussing a party document, not state policies, his opponent [OSD leader] Chavdar Kyuranov pointed out. According to the OSD social democrats, the BSP center's program rediscovered the ideas of Khrushchev, Ataturk, and Mao, and the document's philosophy ignored the problem of property ownership. According to them, Lilov deliberately used the word "failure" instead of "collapse" with reference to the fate of the societies of real socialism. An OSD expert told STANDART NEWS that he predicts that the BSP will tolerate the postcommunist thinking of its present strategist for another five years at the very most, adding that time alone will turn the Socialists into Social Democrats.

The next plenum is to appoint a commission to work on all the draft versions of the party program and will also fix the date of the 41st BSP Congress.

Commentary Sees Lack of Pluralism in BSP

AU1803134094 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 14 Mar 94 p 1

[Commentary by Robert Levi: "Prince Turned Out To Be a Beggar"]

[Text] Before the plenum of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] held yesterday, 13 March, there was much talk about the luxurious cloak of pluralism that the BSP wanted to show off in the fashion show that they called a "debate." A show did indeed take place, but the models on the catwalk lacked variety, and this clearly demonstrated that the king was naked.

The gray-hairs were the first to gasp with horror at the cloak. They started complaining that the fashion designers had not included some very important accessories that they had suggested. In the "Panorama" program on television on the evening of 12 March, [BSP leader] Zhan Videnov assured them that the king's clothes were made up of at least five pieces, and that one of these was theirs.

However, in the show itself it turned out that the assembled fans of the king prefer one-piece designs, such as a sack with holes cut out for the head and arms. This was what the chief tailor Aleksandur Lilov actually proposed. He presented his design, called "New Times, a New Bulgaria, a New BSP," but at the very start apologized because, due to lack of funds, it was a more gaudy version of the miserable garments in which the party emerged from the 39th and 40th BSP Congresses, which were the "Manifesto for Democratic Socialism" and the "Platform for Further Renewal of the BSP." Aleksandur Lilov passed over with smile the creation of his chief competitor—the house of Kyuranov, Yonchev, Dureva, and Sons. The public also ignored them, finding their well-known extravagance all too familiar. For this reason, the debates centered on the draft document, not the draft documents. This time, the extravagance of the social democrats in the BSP showed itself in the fact that the only difference between their draft document and Lilov's was its length—they set their faith in placing "personnel mines" (again due to lack of funds).

The other designers, from the "Marxist Platform," Alternative Socialist Association, and "Road to Europe," contented themselves with saying that they would present their versions in a week's time, and that they would not be different, but merely a critical comment on the main design. Some wanted to tack onto the latter a piece on the left side, others wanted to put it on the right side, and yet others wanted to cover up the holes cut out in the front—that is, in the center.

Some observers on the sidelines expressed their amazement that all the models looked as if they had come out of the same fashion house, with all of them carrying the same decoration in the very front, namely "democratic socialism." In addition, all of them circle around the hat of "power."

At the end the chief advertising agent [DUMA Editor in Chief] Stefan Prodev complained that no money was available to publish individual photographs of the models, which were in any case identical.

In the final analysis, what emerged from the meeting will be demonstrated to the people in the next elections, so that all will be able to see that the king is naked and the prince is a beggar. Otherwise, the show goes on.

Belgrade Moves Against Bulgarian Party Noted

AU2103135394 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Mar 94 p 7

[Commentary by Goran Gotev: "God Save Us From Bulgarian Janissaries"]

[Text] If you know who is in power in the Western Outlands [border region of Serbia inhabited by ethnic Bulgarians], you will not be surprised at the demand of the authorities in Bosilegrad Municipality to ban the Democratic Alliance of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia (DSBYu). Both there and in almost all the other settlements with a Bulgarian population Bulgarian janissaries are in power. Five hundred years of servitude have taught us that no oppressor is more terrible and vile than they. They are the mayors, municipal councillors, judges, and police chiefs who have long been in the service of an alien faith and an alien language.

Otherwise, everything appears to be civilized and normal. When the Serbian authorities receive delegations from Bulgaria—and there have been plenty of them of late—they assure them that in the areas with a predominantly Bulgarian population in eastern Serbia our compatriots occupy leading places in the administration and in municipal life. Moreover, the Bulgarian language, even if it is not the chief language, is only so because the Bulgarians themselves want it so.

Later our delegations meet these mayors, municipal councillors, judges, and police chiefs, from whom they hear the same thing, and then return to Bulgaria enchanted by this new Arcadia, where everything flows with milk and honey. They then start publishing one article after another in which they try to convince the other 8 million Bulgarians that those who defend the rights of the Bulgarians in the Western Outlands are a handful of dubious personages who want to provoke a quarrel between us and Serbia, which shows abundant love toward us.

As this is going on, our compatriots can barely make ends meet, because not a single new workshop has been built for decades in their villages, forgotten by both Belgrade and Sofia. They try to come to terms with their children's new Serbian names, hoping that they at least will not have to suffer as they are, and even regard with distrust the enthusiasts from the DSBYu, because they have known for ages that every time a voice is raised in defense of the Bulgarians violated rights, only misfortunes and torment follow. How can they fail to think like this, when even in their motherland people were found to assure us that everything is fine in the Western Outlands? Who then is to tell our compatriots that the other minorities in former Yugoslavia have been fighting for their rights for a long time and will certainly win their rights and freedoms through their struggle? Who is to tell them that the time for bowing one's head is already long past?

The totalitarianism here, like totalitarianism anywhere else, has created an impression of ostensible democracy. The Serbian Parliament has no deputies from a party that defends the Bulgarians' rights, nor will it ever have any. A fiendishly cunning electoral system has divided the Bulgarian settlements in such a way that in all the electoral constituencies a Serbian population predominates that will never support a Bulgarian candidate. However, Bulgarian deputies from the ruling parties have served in parliament and will certainly continue to do so. The trouble is that history has not recorded the name of a single Bulgarian deputy who has said at least two words in defense of his compatriots. Precisely the opposite is the case—to this very day they are remembered only for having defended the rulers' policies more fervently and furiously than the rulers themselves. When the enthusiasts, who included some of the most eminent and respected names of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, founded the DSBYu, the Belgrade mass media poured out rivers of defamation and abuse. The first legal political organization of Bulgarians that had appeared in the Western Outlands since their separation from Bulgaria in 1918 was stigmatized not by Serbs, but by Bulgarians. They even signed their denunciations and gave their addresses, so as to be sure receive their thirty pieces of silver.

I know that every undemocratic government needs such traitors, and that every such government rewards them highly by quickly promoting them up the ladder of the administrative hierarchy. However, I also know that any self-respecting government cannot fail to hold them in contempt.

Therefore, I think that if Belgrade listens to the calls of its Bosilegrad informers, if it bans the only organization of Bulgarians of the kind that all the other minorities in the multinational state possess, this will mean that Belgrade has lost its own sense of self-respect.

SDS-BSP 'Consensus' on Western Outlands

AU2103140194 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 16 Mar 94 p 8

[Lazar Tomov commentary: "Consensus—Separately"]

[Text] We have lived finally to see a prudent unity of thought, and even a noble competition between the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. Of course, by unity of thought we must understand a similar position on the part of the leaders of the two political poles in the country on the situation of the Bulgarians in the Western Outlands [border region of southeastern Serbia populated by ethnic Bulgarians]. The political consensus on this issue, which was anticipated for a long time, was inevitable. It is a positive thing, because after all, the issue preserves the Bulgarian character of this Yugoslav region populated with Bulgarians.

Provoked by the unofficial announcement on banning the Democratic Alliance of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, Filip Dimitrov and Zhan Videnov immediately reacted. Their statements differed only on the issues of who should help our compatriots and by what means.

There can hardly be a serious political force in Bulgaria that has a different opinion on this issue from the BSP and the SDS. It was the same 75 years ago, when for a long time no Bulgarian politician could be found who

was prepared to sign the Treaty of Neuilly [treaty signed on 27 November 1919, by which Bulgaria ceded territories to Serbia and Greece and lost about 300,000 citizens]. We know what kind of peace it brought to the Balkans. We could see the consequences in the Western Outlands, and not only there. One remembers the universal joy that engulfed the country after the return of Southern Dobrudzha in 1940.

Naturally, we are not speaking about any correction of our border with Yugoslavia, but about a normal and humane attitude toward our compatriots in the Western Outlands, as they requested in the memorandum they addressed to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

The SDS and BSP have committed themselves to this demand. The two political forces are not interested in a political flirt along patriotic lines, but in real actions in the sphere of scientific and cultural exchange, and in respecting the religious freedom and rights according to international documents. Let us hope that the divided Bulgarian Orthodox Church will follow the example of the politicians, and that the Holy Synod (which of the two?) sends Bulgarian priests to the Western Outlands on time, as the population there has requested.

Need for Personnel Cuts in Army Examined

AU2103130094 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 18 Mar 94 p 8

[Konstantin Subchev commentary: "Officers and Clerks"]

[Text] Despite the experiments that have been going on now for five years, the situation of the Bulgarian Army is not stabilizing but, on the contrary, is becoming tragic. At present Albania is the only Balkan neighbor on whom we can rely, although even this is doubtful.

There was no place from where the 37 billion leva requested by the Rakovski Officer Legion could come. Subsequently, the Defense Ministry will have to make do with what it has.

Cuts are inevitable in such a situation.

What is bad is that in such cases the proverb that while the fish begins to stink at the head they are beginning to clean it at the tail applies to Bulgaria.

If the current army payroll does not change, even the Brazilians and Thais, who are proverbial for their "inflation" of higher military ranks, will begin to laugh at us.

Today there are 22,000 officers, 27,000 sergeants, and 36,000 soldiers in the Bulgarian Army. In other words, for every soldier there is one payroll officer or sergeant.

That is one aspect of the problem. The other is that the cuts of officers and sergeants that have been carried out created the suspicion that a political purge was under way, or more precisely a process of settling personal accounts and striving to survive on a political pretext. As a result there are not enough platoon and company commanders for combat units, while the headquarter offices are full.

Now they say that the army must be cut 50 percent if it is to be maintained within the framework of the current budget. This, however, does not prevent new lists of high-ranking officers who should be promoted from being presented.

At Slivnitsa the Bulgarian captains defeated the Serb generals. This means that the number of stars on the shoulder straps have nothing to do with the state of the army.

As Clausewitz said, "victory is a result of the number of soldiers and the personal qualities of the officers."

We do not have enough soldiers. We cannot even dream of having a professional army because of purely financial reasons. At least let us make sure that after the next cut the army manages to retain young and able officers rather than clerks and bureaucrats in uniform.

Clerks are incapable of being in charge of defense, or God forbid, waging a war.

Bacteria Strains Said Stored in Prague Hospital

AU2103133394 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 18 Mar 94 p 1

[Article by Jan Benes and Lubor Kohout: "A Crime Endangering Central Europe!"]

[Text] One of the places where, until recently, our Army concealed very dangerous bacteriological and virological weapons was the Central Military Hospital in Prague-Stresovice!

CESKY DENIK reporters have discovered that strains for bacteriological weapons were stored, without expert supervision and the necessary caution, in a laboratory leased to a private company on the grounds of the Central Military Hospital in Stresovice. They were developed on the basis of a former Warsaw Pact treaty in a research institute in Techonin in East Bohemia. The laboratory, with its containers full of cultures for dangerous infectious germs prepared for combat use, was leased to the private Klinlab company. According to the information available, Deputy Defense Minister Engineer Miroslav Kalousek was involved in establishing this company and in leasing part of the Central Military Hospital, including the facility used by this company. The Defense Ministry also purchased expensive laboratory equipment for the Klinlab company. The whole project was described as top secret and of special significance.

Some of the containers in which various kinds of bacteria for weapons "cultivated" by Czechoslovak military experts were stored were sold into private hands—that is, to the Klinlab company.

Bacteriological and viral weapons are among the most insidious and dangerous. International agreements commit the Czech Republic to preventing their use, development, and storage. It is apparent from the findings of the CESKY DENIK reporters that the cultures for the bacteriological weapons were stored in the Central Military Hospital with the knowledge of some of our most senior military representatives.

Official Denies Biological Weapons Made

AU2103125894 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 18 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by "(lek)": "The Military Institute Did Not Develop Biological Weapons, Says Propper"]

[Text] Hradec Kralove—The former Military Research Institute in Techonin in the Orlicke Mountains (now the J.E. Purkyne Military Medical Academy Institute of Immunology and Microbiology) did not develop in the past, nor is it doing so at present, bacteriological weapons. This statement was made yesterday by Petr Propper, the institute's former director. "The institute dealt exclusively with defense-related research," he said. Propper described as false the claim in CESKY DENIK that dangerous strains of bacteria and viruses, in whose development the Techonin-based research institute was involved, are stored in various locations in the Czech Republic.

According to Josef Fusek, the rector of the Military Medical Academy in Hradec Kralove, no bacterial or viral strains with transmuted immunological properties were ever developed at the institute. Fusek also denied that cholera, plague, smallpox, meningitis, or psittacosis germs would have been stored in the institute's laboratory. According to him, the research concerned other infectious diseases—for example, tularemia.

A commission of experts visited the Techonin institute last week, on the order of Defense Minister Antonin Baudys, where it carried out an inspection and destroyed the cultures that will no longer be used for current research, said Fusek.

According to staff from the Charles University Faculty of Medicine Institute of Microbiology, strains of all of the existing bacteria and viruses, including cholera, plague, smallpox, and other diseases, are stored in a number of microbiological laboratories. The way they store and dispose of them is, of course, subject to the regulations of the World Health Organization, which rules out any threat to the population.

According to its Press Department, the Defense Ministry will not respond to the report in CESKY DENIK.

Strains 'Destroyed Posthaste'

AU2103145694 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 19 Mar 94 p 1

[Article by Jan Benes and Lubor Kohout: "The Viral and Bacterial Strains Stored in the Central Military Hospital Are Destroyed Posthaste"]

[Text] In CESKY DENIK on Thursday and Friday [17 and 18 March], we reported the existence of still-maintained bacterial and viral strains developed for use as biological weapons. According to the findings by CESKY DENIK reporters, one of the banks of these strains was concealed in the Central Military Hospital in Prague-Stresovice.

Yesterday, Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys called an extraordinary news conference; as he phrased it, "just to calm down the public."

Antonin Baudys declared that he was first informed about the existence of the particularly dangerous viruses and bacteria on 13 February of this year. Subsequently, he received more information from various sources on 17 February. On the basis of this information, an interdepartmental commission was formed, in which Health Ministry experts were also represented. The commission, according to Baudys, investigated and assessed the situation and also decided to liquidate the biological bank quickly because it was "no longer useful." The bacterial

and viral cultures were also destroyed under extraordinary security measures between 24 and 25 February with the knowledge and instructions of Defense Minister Antonin Baudys and Army Chief of Staff Nekvasil. Furthermore, Baudys said that similar measures were also taken in the Techonin Military Research Institute at the beginning of March. It was precisely in this Institute that, according to CESKY DENIK sources, biological weapons for the Warsaw Pact were developed. According to claims by the military representatives, however, this bank of biological cultures was a commonplace affair, and their maintenance did not violate any international treaties.

An employee of the Techonin Military Research Institute, Ales Macela, stated that, in the facility where he works, no viral or bacterial strains have been cultivated for use in biological warfare. Moreover, he claimed that all documentation about the research has remained in Techonin. According to him, the research was conducted for defense purposes only. According to CESKY DENIK sources, however, the documentation was transferred to Prague under extraordinary security measures at the beginning of March.

Deputy Defense Minister Kalousek said that the Klinlab company had leased nonresidential premises in the Central Military Hospital building. It was precisely in the laboratories operated by this company that the bank of viral and bacterial cultures that were quickly destroyed on 25 February was stored.

Commentary Views Rumors

AU2103173494 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 18 Mar 94 p 3

[Commentary by Jan Benes: "Illegal Bacteria"]

[Text] Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Chernobyl enriched the world by the knowledge of the appearance of nuclear death. The beginning of the nuclear age was announced by an act of war in the war that the United States neither began nor provoked. It took place at the time when the consequences were not known. The Chernobyl accident took place at the time when the consequences were known. Nevertheless, our subservient state leadership did practically nothing to protect the society against the aftermath of this accident. The crime of public endangerment, which then took place, has not been punished.

A journalist must not swallow any bait, nor can he miss any alarming news. The rumors about SS-20 missiles "forgotten" by the occupational power [on Czech territory] are among the things that simply cannot be missed. That is true despite the fact that one must know how to use a flare or a warhead, and an explosion accidentally triggered by a layman is less likely than by an incompetent manipulation with a hand grenade.

The situation was worse when unverifiable rumors referred to a warhead with a chemical warfare agent. It was just the more "poignant" because both the Soviets and Czechoslovakia once promised that they would not keep such warfare agents.

Moreover, the treaties in which the USSR and former Czechoslovakia vouch that they will not use bacteriological or virological weapons would make a respectable library. It is not only that they promised not to use the weapons—they actually promised not to have them.

Of course, some disease cultures, bacteria, and viruses are stored and cultivated for scientific reasons, even in the civilian sector. There are, however, long series of treaties and agreements that specify where and how—under no circumstances, however, at a single location or even a single country. If they have, for instance, smallpox in Stockholm, they do not have typhoid, which in turn is, let us say, in Milan. These treaties and agreements are also binding for the Czech Republic.

Nevertheless, the cultures, and in a form ready for combat use, have been and are here. In our Army, completing its transformation and under the leadership of a Christian minister, who should know something about it? Our top brass, as is well known, are founding businesses, consortia, etc. You will find a small civilian business under the name of Klinlab also in the Central Military Hospital building. Similar cultures were brought there from Techonin in eastern Bohemia, where they were cultivated for the Warsaw Pact. They are stored in the Central Military Hospital contrary to all of the aforementioned documentation. It is simply a commonplace company, equipped, however, at the expense of the Army—i.e., at the expense of the ordinary taxpayer. All of this with the knowledge of the reformed General Nekvasil. Even his economic deputy, Kalousek, knew about it, because he approved the purchase of the equipment for the Klinlab company, which was certainly not cheap.

As we have managed to ascertain, the serum banks stored in the Military Hospital building contain gel ready for immediate use. Hence, a catastrophe can be set off by trickling out small pox, bubonic plague, or psitacosis, etc. in the subway, for instance.

An unintentional release could threaten Prague with at least the fate of Sverdlovsk (it is now called Ekaterinburg again), where a bacteriological warfare agent was released into the ventilation system of the local "pharmaceuticals factory," and, subsequently, mysterious epidemics broke out in the city. An unknown epidemic pneumonia was the most common cause of death.

In the Czech Army, the bacteriological and virological death received the mark PTZD [prisne tajne, zvlastni dulezitost]—top secret, privileged information. The Central Military Hospital in Prague, in the building of which the Klinlab is located, is a military zone, where the police has no business. At the same time, it is also accessible to hospital visitors on the weekends and, of

course, to outpatients. This means that it is generally accessible. The building itself can even be accessed underground.

The building has been visited occasionally by a certain Colonel Zaykov and Mr. Frolov. Colonel Zaykov used to be a KGB attache, while Mr. Frolov was an adviser at the Foreign Trade Ministry. Currently, they both hold valid cards for foreigners with permanent residence here and engage in business. How about selling these cultures to, let us say, Libya? Let us hope that the appropriate authorities will deal with this case in all seriousness.

Commentary Criticizes 'Partnership' Plan

AU2103184694 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 18 Mar 94 p 6

[Commentary by Tom Luke: "Partnership for Peace Is an Absurdity"]

[Text] Henry Kissinger has called the Partnership for Peace a "gimmick." Synonyms for this include maneuver, trick, device, ploy, strategy, and so on.

President Walesa, of all the ruling circles from the countries involved, is demanding most emphatically equal membership in the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO). Warsaw knows from experience that friendly pacts with Russia under any Russian Government lead to thralldom. The representatives of the other countries, however, act as if they know nothing of this risk.

The protest from Moscow, shortly after Yeltsin's agreement, against its former satellite states becoming affiliated with the Alliance was an ominous sign confirming Russia's tendency to regard these states as its zone of interest. This is not as binding as if Russia were assuming the right to determine what place the sovereign states in this geographic zone will hold in Europe and the world, as long as they do not cede this right to it. It is alarming, however, that the West is practicing a new policy of appeasement, called Partnership for Peace, to the detriment of the genuine endeavor for an independent democratic arrangement in Central Europe. Has nothing been learned from Munich and Yalta? In its incorrigible naivete, the West is staking everything on the "democrat" Yeltsin, the proponent of a market economy, long after he abandoned his former reform allies to their fate and began to seek compromises with the antidemocratic forces.

No normal and sensible person can condone the threat of a nuclear conflict. The United States is rightly striving for nuclear disarmament, but it is not its job to exert pressure on Ukraine to surrender its nuclear weapons to Russia and thus clear a corridor for the Russian armies' hypothetical invasion of Central Europe. The tactic of "Russia First" is built on sand by inexperienced U.S. bureaucrats. After World War II, the Russian empire expanded within the limits tolerated by the West. Moscow did not dare cross this clearly marked demarcation line even when Soviet power was at its height. Following the Soviet collapse, there came an unexpected opportunity to extend the security arrangement of free states in the opposite direction, into a region where a strategic vacuum had evolved. A correction to the strategic map of Europe could anyhow only involve a minimum number of states—that is, those that embody civic maturity, domestic stability, successfully initiated economic development, and the will to defend individual freedom, and those that have a common border with today's NATO.

The vacuum between the power-wielding camps never was viable in the long term. The affiliation of certain former satellite countries to the Alliance today would provoke protests from Moscow but no specific countermeasures because, at the moment, Russia is too polarized and weakened. Nevertheless, in a year or in a decade, after the installation of the next potential totalitarian regime over the masses whipped up by the idea of a Greater Russia, which can be envisaged, the West will not risk a conflict, even for the geographic expansion of democracy. In the event that the economic boom in Russia is unsuccessful and, thus, civil discontent increases, the new totalitarian power in Moscow will be compelled to conduct an aggressive policy in order to divert attention away from the real poverty at home.

German strategists have calculated that, if NATO is not expanded eastward, the FRG will be the first bastion of defense in the event of Russian military aggression against Europe. It is possible, therefore, to anticipate that Germany, in its own interest, would welcome pushing NATO's borders toward the east. The rest of Western Europe is descending into a state of tired resignation and inability to defend itself against totalitarian aggression. In this century, it was the English-speaking world that derived sufficient vitality to defend individual freedom, not only by words, as became the habit in the other postindustrial democracies, but also by deeds. The situation in Russia is far from being clear-cut enough for us to be able to tell what combination of communists, ultranationalists, the KGB, the Army, and orthodox fundamentalists will prevail and when. Therefore, it could lead to a catastrophe if the United States, in the role of leading global democracy, were to continue the policy of appeasement. The Partnership for Peace is the exact opposite of a policy of strength.

In an attempt not to provoke Moscow and, at the same time, to placate the nations that experienced the Russian grasp and are monitoring developments in Russia with horror, President Clinton is heralding the utopian Partnership for Peace instead of security guarantees. "Democracy as far as the Urals" or even "Democracy as far as Vladivostok" perhaps exists in Clinton's dreams, but it has nothing in common with realistic policy. The appeal to all members of the former Soviet empire to join the Partnership for Peace predetermines the division of Europe into the NATO sphere and also into certain internationally recognized neutral countries such as Switzerland, Austria, and Sweden, and, finally, into the remaining countries.

No claim uttered smilingly to the opposite will change the fact that Clinton's naive delusion is actively driving the countries that have just gained their independence into an arrangement where Russia is assuming supremacy and the right of veto. Moreover, this plan, which, despite its name, is providing neither peace nor equal partnership, places the new democracies, and particularly the Czech Republic, on a par with entities that do not have a democratic tradition, do not respect human rights, and are socially and economically at the bottom.

It is surprising that the Czech Government does not have a sufficient quantity of insight and the dynamism not to sign its own death warrant in the tradition of its predecessors. Rejecting the offensive nonsense called Partnership for Peace would be far less dangerous than signing it. This way, Prague would retain its freedom to negotiate unilaterally on joining NATO or to negotiate on mutual defense with certain select states. The Czech Republic's integration into the Western community would irritate Moscow, but it would accept it de facto because the Republic does not have a common border with the former Soviet Union. It is up to the Czech Government to persuade the West that, as opposed to the other former communist states, the Czech Republic qualifies as an equal partner. As an ally, it would be more reliable, more stable, and more respectful of human rights on its territory than many a full member of the Alliance.

Official Explains Relations With NATO

AU2103210294 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 17 Mar 94 p 10

[Interview with Major General Jiri Pisklak, the Czech Republic's representative at NATO, by Jaroslav Fiala; place and date not given: "The North Atlantic Treaty Is No Warsaw Pact"]

[Excerpts] "I was the first military representative of a Warsaw Pact country who came to Brussels and began practical cooperation. I had to start with very simple matters, such as becoming familiar with NATO. We opened the door slowly and tried to show the changes that happened in our country and its armed forces," says Major General Jiri Pisklak, the Czech Republic's representative at NATO.

[Fiala] What are the changes you have just mentioned?

[Pisklak] The principal changes have been carried out in three large stages: In the first, Soviet troops were withdrawn; in the second, the Republic was partitioned and, therefore, the Army was also divided; and then there is the transformation that we are undergoing now. This stage should end by 1996, which means that, by then, our Army should be rebuilt into an army of a new type similar to the NATO armies. It is my task to work in that direction. I am alone here but, actually, I am mediating contacts between the Czech Republic's Army, the NATO command here in Brussels, and other command posts. This is multinational cooperation among NATO's multinational staffs.

[Fiala] Have you noticed any progress in that cooperation?

[Pisklak] We have made a great deal of progress, about which we do not know much in our country. Actually, we are participating in the work of all committees in the North Atlantic Council for Cooperation, which is a political and consultative body in which the overall situation in NATO is discussed. The ambassador of the Czech Republic comes here and presents our political attitudes, the policy of the Foreign Ministry, and so on. I have the opportunity to participate in these meetings. Today, we are also participating in the creation of the principal documents in the Political Committee. We are also cooperating with the Economic Committee.

[Pisklak] Under what circumstance was the North Atlantic Council established?

[Fiala] It has been newly created, and this is why a special formula is used in that connection: 16 NATO countries and 22 countries of this council [sentence as published]. It is a body that was established after the political changes in our country were made. This body makes it possible for all of the countries, including the republics of the former Soviet Union, to join the advanced countries of Europe. The members are, for example, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Georgia, etc. There are also Finnish observers. The purpose of the Council is to make it possible for all countries to consult the political situation. For example, the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction is a new topic. Foreign ministers also have meetings. It is an important thing that the Council has approved a working plan that fixes the spheres of cooperation, including the political, economic, scientific, and ecological spheres. In this connection, I would like to avoid speaking about details because there are some 300 or 400 various committees and work groups within NATO.

[Pisklak] Can you describe the work of some of the committees and evaluate their results?

[Fiala] I highly appreciate the results of the Committee for the Coordination of the European Airspace. I have to say that Europe is saturated with air traffic. We must have a unified system of controlling the air traffic, so our countries could join and become compatible in that sphere. The Czech Republic has made great progress. In Prague, a new center for air-traffic control is being built, which is practically comparable with the West European standards. We have joined such organizations as ARFA [Allied Radio Frequency Agency], which deals with the allocation of frequencies, because it is known that frequency bands are overcrowded and every country is keeping an eye on the frequencies it can get. In the Economic Committee, matters related to the conversion of the arms industry were widely discussed.

Cooperation in the Ecological Committee is developing promisingly. This committee is called the Committee for the Vision of Modern Society. For us, the most interesting thing was the solution to ecological problems, where Charles University is involved to a certain extent. The Foreign Ministry is participating in all of the said activities as the main organizer, and the Defense Ministry and its experts are engaged in many matters because these matters belong to the sphere of the Defense Ministry's activity. Someone could say that ecology does not belong to the sphere of rapprochement with NATO. This is not the case, however. For instance, the cleanup operation after the Soviet troops had an impact on both the Army and civilians. [passage omitted]

[Fiala] Do you have an idea how much the compatibility of our Army with NATO forces will cost our taxpayers?

[Pisklak] For the time being, almost nothing. We will have to carry out the transformation of our Army, in any case. Transformation is paid for from the state budget. We are spending the extra money on the compatibility of our system. For the time being, we are not paying anything extra.

In the future, when legal technicalities regarding residence permits are sorted out, some of our people should come here—not as many as from the big countries, however. One or two people should remain in Mons, and three to five should be designated for direct cooperation here in Brussels. Of course, the cost for having officials abroad, costs that are linked to the work of those people, are paid from the budget. However, no enormous sums will be involved. Through the Partnership for Peace plan, we will participate in certain social actions, which will allow us to participate in international operations. First, certain exercises will be focused on keeping peace, on preparing UN joint operations, rescue and humanitarian actions, and others. It is normal practice that each NATO country pay for those actions. From the existing military budget, we will be unable to pay for a large action, and it is expected that we are not going to undertake any large actions this year. Later on, we are expected to pay for anything that will take place on our territory within the Partnership for Peace framework, and we will have to pay the bill if we send smaller units abroad for exercises. This requires legislative steps, however, because these things have to do something with the Constitution, and parliament will have to decide them.

[Fiala] Could you be more specific about the legislative changes?

[Pisklak] Every country that will want to become a member will have to review its laws and legislative system to find out how much their law and legislative system are compatible with membership in the Alliance. Their legislative system may contain certain laws and stipulations that may prevent these countries from fulfilling obligations ensuing from the treaties. This mainly applies to the deployment of foreign troops on their territory. (I know that we hate listening to those things after our 1968 experience). For example, the Belgian Government gives special status to people who work on NATO staffs in Belgium. This status should apply to our people also. The deployment of the troops in Germany is regulated by special laws, for example. There is a special law that defines the rights and obligations of foreign soldiers participating in exercises on the territory of a member country. We will have to establish a group of experts who will select, as a reference, a NATO country similar to ours and who will deal with these matters. We can ask for such help without any problems because everyone will be willing to provide it. This is why the question of whether to join NATO immediately is not easy. Every country must prepare itself in a certain way. It it difficult to fix a deadline, for which our people yearn so much.

[Fiala] When are we going to become a full Alliance member, in your estimate?

[Pisklak] In my estimate, this deadline should not extend beyond the end of this century because our Republic is certainly comparable with some NATO member countries regarding the stability of the political system, economic results, the overall transformation of our thinking, and our capability to build a democratic system. Actually, NATO believes that the democratic system and the market economy are shared values. We are building this democratic system and market economy, and we need to complete them. Our public does not have too detailed information on NATO. In general, NATO is believed to be a sort of military organization, similar to the Warsaw Pact. NATO, however, is not only a military organization....

[Fiala] What factors will most influence the Czech Republic's joining NATO?

[Pisklak] A composite of all factors at the same time. NATO is not only a defense organization but also a political and economic organization and an organization that controls cooperation in science. The security aspect prevails, of course. We should speak about creating a reliable European security system in Europe in the future.

NATO is undergoing a transformation and is modifying its military structure in an important way so as to adjust it as much as possible to the new conditions. If the conflict in Yugoslavia is ended (which would help improve stability and strengthen peace in Europe), I believe that we really will have the possibility to create, in a well-conceived and reasonable way, a European security system. I am of the opinion that NATO has the prerequisites to become the cornerstone of a system on which everyone could rely. It can share experience and knowledge with others. It would be an ideal solution if we had NATO with two, three, or more pillars—a Central European pillar, for instance, could be one of them. We should not divide our efforts to establish European security. This is my personal opinion.

[Fiala] What is your view of our Army, from the Brussels perspective?

[Pisklak] Out Army has undergone significant changes. New people assumed positions in all of the important places. Unlike the previous people, they are knowledgeable about the world, and they have proper educations. Unfortunately, many of them complete their educations and leave, which is a very sad fact. I believe that, in the new spirit, the Army's task is to defend the Czech Republic. I also believe that people who are in the Army feel that they are responsible for the defense of the country. I believe it is an unfortunate fact that our society looks at our Army through the perspective of the past, despite the fact that our Army is undergoing an important and painful process of transformation. If I am to be sincere, I have to say that we were not alone in having been immersed in ourselves for those 40 years. In NATO, they have similar problems. They, too, have a narrow and maybe even a distorted view of certain things. In the process of becoming acquainted with them, we have arrived at a surprising conclusion: We are closer to each other than we originally thought. We have found out that our opinions are quite close, that we have identical views on problems of security, education, training, the role of the Army, etc.

[Fiala] Our Army was a Warsaw Pact member until recently....

[Pisklak] NATO membership leaves complete sovereignty to its members. This is quite a different thing from the directive manner of control that existed within the Warsaw Pact. It is desirable that our society should understand that we have to begin building the Army. Time is flying, and, if we want to build on the traditions of the first republic, we should support the creators of the new Army. We should stop noticing only negative aspects and begin noticing that our soldiers are able to do something positive. I could give you examples of the professionalism of our Army. If someone was able to move 130,000 Soviet troops in such a short time, and if someone was able to divide the Army that had coexisted since 1945 into two parts, he must have been a professional; amateurs could not have done it. If our soldiers manage to be equal partners to the Western soldiers, if they are able to fully integrate themselves into the United Nations [troops], our Army is commensurate with a number of other armies. We only need to create conditions for the people to feel good and to want to serve in the Army. We should make the Army attractive to young people.

Labor Minister Barred From Addressing Rally

LD2203130894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Excerpts] The Prague rally staged by the Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions Association [CMCTUA] is about to end. Our correspondent Jiri Bohacek reports:

[Bohacek] Pavel Hajek, CMCTUA deputy chairman, addressed the rally at noon. The Old Town Square was 75-percent full. Labor and Social Affairs Minister Jindrich Vodicka arrived at that time, but the trade unionist crowd would not allow Vodicka to join them. The speakers asked those present to make room so that Mr. Minister could leave. Minister Vodicka was forced to leave without being allowed to speak or defend himself. According to unconfirmed information, a member of Mr. Minister's entourage was injured. [passage omitted]

Distributors of leaflets published by the Association for the Republic appeared among the participants at the rally, but they failed to hand out any of their literature.

It seems that the rally has just ended. The gathering sang the anthem and people are leaving.

Poll Shows ODS Ahead in Public Opinion

AU2103194294 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Mar 94 p 3

[CTK report: "The Civic Democratic Party Leads With 30 Percent, Followed by the Civic Democratic Alliance and the Czech Social Democratic Party"]

[Text] If elections to the Chamber of Deputies were to be held now, the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] would win with 30 percent of the vote. The second-strongest party would be the Civic Democratic Alliance, with 11 percent, and the Czech Social Democratic Party would come in third, with 10 percent. This is apparent from the results of a poll conducted at the beginning of March by the Institute for Public Opinion Research. The other parties would not attain the 5-percent limit. The Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, with 4 percent each, and the Left Bloc and the Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia, with 3 percent each, would win the most votes of these parties. More than one-quarter of citizens (26 percent) have still not made up their minds which party they would vote for. Only 12 percent of respondents consider the newly established Democratic Union to be necessary. Of the ODS's current supporters, 21 percent are of the opinion that this party is necessary, and 8 percent of them would perhaps vote for it.

Kovac Comments on Parties' Coalition Agreement

LD2103191294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Members of the government and representatives of coalition political entities met at the Slovak Government office in Bratislava this afternoon. The session was chaired by Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik. The talks resulted in the signing of a coalition agreement between the Party of the Democratic Left, the Christian Democratic Movement, and the so-called Centrist Bloc.

Immediately after the agreement was signed, Ivan Bielko interviewed Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac.

[begin recording] [Kovac] The coalition agreement makes possible the functioning of the coalition government and its lasting support in parliament for the measures it takes to lead this society toward early democratic elections. A lot of work will have to be done, naturally. The state cannot come to a halt, and the coalition agreement safeguards the mechanisms to enable the coalition parties to achieve constructive cooperation.

[Bielko] This coalition agreement was signed by five entities. What will happen if one of them does not agree? How will decisions be adopted?

[Kovac] It has been defined that these decisions must be adopted by a consensus of all parties. That means that disagreement of one party is being replaced by a dialogue. Explanations and, truly, the problems that have to be tackled must be solved by consensus. No system of voting has been introduced. It would not be very good. We will re-assess the entire situation. In case there is a negative attitude, we will convene an extraordinary coalition council in order to solve the problems. [end recording]

Moravcik Views Future Orientation of Government

AU2103212294 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 16 Mar 94 p 9

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by Karol Wolf on 15 March; place not given: "The New Slovak Government Wants To Orient Itself Toward the West"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday, Josef Moravcik, the new Slovak prime minister, granted an interview to MLADA FRONTA DNES, in which he described the concept of his government in the coming period, stressed the necessity of reviving Czech-Slovak relations, and indicated the unequivocal orientation of his country toward the West.

[Wolf] What steps will the new Slovak Cabinet have to take in the economic sphere?

[Moravcik] I cannot jump to premature conclusions. The government's program statement will provide an answer to this question, which is very specific. I realize that we will have to adopt certain measures. We will know what are the most important ones in about two days.

[Wolf] What are you going to do to improve Slovakia's image abroad? Specifically, to improve the tense Hungarian-Slovak relations?

[Moravcik] Regarding our relations with Hungary, I will push for signing a basic treaty between Hungary and Slovakia as soon as possible, even this year, if possible. This treaty should guarantee, among other things, the inviolability of the borders. I believe that the new government will be able to establish positive relations with foreign countries, particularly with the neighboring countries. We are going to lay stress on our integration into European economic and security structures, and I believe we will be able to convince Europe and the world that we are unequivocally heading toward the West.

[Wolf] How are you going to proceed in the matters that have remained unsolved between the Czech Republic and Slovakia—for example, the division of federal property and problems in defining the borders?

[Moravcik] I discussed these problems with Mr. Klaus and Mr. Zieleniec when I was foreign minister. I believe that there is a solid basis for our reaching an agreement.

[Wolf] Are you going to initiate a meeting with Klaus?

[Moravcik] I believe it will be inevitable. [passage omitted]

[Wolf] How are you going to guarantee the stability of your government?

[Moravcik] Stability is dependent on the consensus of the political parties. Entities that supported the no-confidence vote in Prime Minister Meciar are the guarantors of stability.

[Wolf] Stability is certainly dependent on the attitude of the Hungarian opposition. The Hungarian parties have certain demands. Are you able to meet them?

[Moravcik] In view of the temporary character of our government, we are able to meet only certain conditions. Above all, we will respect the Council of Europe resolution, which is an obligation that Slovakia has accepted.

Denies 'Liquidation' of REPUBLIKA

AU2103151794 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 18 Mar 94 p 1

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by "zl" on 16 March in Bratislava: "Does the Government Have the Means or Not?"—in the "Hot Questions For" column]

[Text] After the first meeting of the government on Wednesday [16 March], we asked the Slovak prime minister:

[REPUBLIKA] REPUBLIKA is the only daily that is inconvenient for the government. Has the government adopted measures to liquidate this daily?

[Moravcik] The government does not have the means to liquidate dailies. Or does it? The press ought to be independent, also economically. I believe that it can fulfill its role only when it is independent.

[REPUBLIKA] In other words, you have not dealt with the liquidation of REPUBLIKA in the government?

[Moravcik] No, not yet.

Change of Government Causes Changes in Parliament

AU2103172194

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 17 and 18 March publishes reports by its parliamentary correspondent Marcela Kostalova on the 16 and 17 March sessions of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR]. The reports mention personnel changes in the NRSR called forth by the passage of a no-confidence vote in Vladimir Meciar's government on 11 March and the appointment of a new government on 16 March. Under the Slovak Constitution, parliamentary deputies' mandates are suspended while their holders execute government posts.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 17 March carries a 650-word report by Marcela Kostalova on the 16 March NRSR meeting. The report notes that, during the meeting, five members of the outgoing government assumed their seats in the NRSR again and were assigned places in NRSR committees. According to the report, Vladimir Meciar (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS) and Katarina Tothova (HZDS) will both be working on the NRSR Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee, Olga Keltosova (HZDS) on the Health Care and Social Affairs Committee, Marian Andel (Slovak National Party, SNS) on the Education, Science, and Culture Committee, and Jozef Prokes (SNS) on the Privatization Committee. The report also mentions that Michal Pridala, who assumed the seat vacated by the recently deceased HZDS deputy, Hvezdon Koctuch, was assigned to the National Economic and Budget Committee.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 18 March on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,000-word report by Marcela Kostalova on the 17 March NRSR meeting. According to Kostalova, the meeting approved six new NRSR deputies as substitutes for members of parliament who have become government members. The new deputies are: Karol Dubovan (Christian Democratic Movement, KDH), who stands in for Julius Brocka, minister of labor, social affairs, and the family; Mikulas Danko (KDH), who replaces Mikulas Dzurinda, minister of transport, communications, and public works; Emil Panci (KDH), in lieu of Ladislav Pittner, minister of interior; Juraj Horvath (Party of the Democratic Left, SDL), instead of Juraj Hrasko, minister of environment; Alena Chlapikova (SDL), instead of Pavol Kanis, minister of defense; and Milan Kralik (SDL), instead of Pavol Koncos, minister of agriculture.

Minister on Hungarian Relations Before Visit

AU2103180794 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Mar 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Pavol Kanis by Gyorgy Jozsef Farkas in Bratislava; date not given: "We Need Predictable Relations"]

[Text] Five days after the establishment of the Moravcik government, the defense minister will be the first minister to travel abroad: Pavol Kanis is making a one-day visit to Budapest on 21 March, where he will meet his Hungarian counterpart, Lajos Fur. Kanis gave an interview to NEPSZABADSAG's Bratislava correspondent on his views on the talks.

[Farkas] Why is Budapest your first destination in your capacity as minister?

[Kanis] When I began my office, I decided that I would first visit the Visegrad countries, and Hungary first, if for no other reason than that Visegrad is here.

[Farkas] According to the preliminary statement on your visit issued on 18 March, you will discuss the Partnership for Peace, among other things. How should we understand this?

[Kanis] This is a very important element of my talks with all of our neighbors. I would like to learn about their views on the NATO Partnership for Peace program and the way they interpret the possibilities of cooperation within this. Naturally, I will also inform my colleagues—Defense Minister Fur first—of our ideas. In my view, the Partnership for Peace itself provides a serious opportunity for the Central European countries to get closer to the West European security systems. However, a more stable inner security in our region—namely, in Central Europe—can significantly contribute to this. It is definitely worth exchanging our views on this issue.

[Farkas] Cooperation between the Hungarian and Slovak armies has been fairly good. It can certainly be assessed as better than our interstate relations.

[Kanis] I am convinced that our states need reliable and predictable relations, including the notion of security, and this in turn affects relations between the two Armies.

Naturally, in today's Europe, the armed forces and the issues of security policy are strongly related and are organically connected to the solution of our region's concrete problems or to establishing the conditions for the solutions.

[Farkas] In addition to being a minister, your negotiating partner is chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the leading Hungarian Government party, while

you are the first deputy chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left. Can this obvious contrast cause any difficulties in the military cooperation that you describe as good?

[Kanis] In my view, this kind of meeting has primarily to be determined by professional issues and the discussion of security policy. I would add that the quality of our relations should not be influenced by what kind of government our countries have at a given moment. This can also be applied to the political affiliation of the given defense ministers. In this case, we cannot think of anything but the fact that we have to do everything we can to improve bilateral relations, and this task is irrespective of party affiliations. It is known that a broad coalition consisting of a number of parties is now in government in Slovakia, and we clarify and decide very many issues through debates. As for our foreign relations, in my view it is favorable that the parties in our government maintain good relations with the political forces close to them in several neighboring countries.

Minister: StB Files Remain Under Czech Control

AU2103181594 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Mar 94 p 3

[Interview with Minister of Interior Ladislav Pittner, by Marcela Kostalova; place and date not given: "Ladislav Pittner's Dissatisfaction, or Who Has the Archives of the Former StB?"]

[Text] Attention in the domestic policy sphere is currently centered, self-evidently, on the dismissal of Vladimir Meciar and the subsequent formation of a new Slovak government. Nevertheless, it would be good to realize that there are still a number of other problems that require a solution because, in the event of a failure to resolve them, they could negatively influence the future development of this state. We discussed one of these problems with [new Interior Minister] Ladislav Pittner (Christian Democratic Movement).

[Kostalova] During the discussion of the report on the fulfillment of Ministry of Interior duties in the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Committee for Petitions, Legal Protection, and Security, you raised serious objections to the way in which the Ministry contractually dealt with the issue of the transfer of archives between the former CSFR and the Slovak Republic or, rather, between organizations assigned this task.

[Pittner] We have learned that the treaty sets a period of 25 years for the archives' transfer. At the same time, no priorities are set in the treaty as to which archives and which files will be transferred at which time. For example, it is a great disenchantment for me that to this day we have not received the personnel files of former StB [State Security Corps, communist-era secret service] operatives who were Slovaks or who simply worked here on Slovak territory. The explanation we were given was that there are too many files and that they must be handed over gradually. However, when we receive them five, 10, or 25 years from now, they can really serve only historians and not the purposes for which we would need to have them at home today.

[Kostalova] [At the NRSR committee meeting] You also voiced dissatisfaction with the solution to problems regarding the network of agents.

[Pittner] Yes, it is known that, in May or June 1992, federal bodies collected all files at district offices of the former StB in Slovakia and transferred them to Prague. At the same time, the contents of those files had not been put on record anywhere. We do not even have the certainty that what has now been returned to us—I am not referring to the register of files but to the files themselves—is complete. This [uncertainty] even raises a number of doubts about what we actually have here. And, because we know from all available sources of information that the former StB had also provided data on its permanent staff and network of agents to foreign intelligence services, we do not even have a guarantee that we would be able to resist such a risk [of former StB agents being approached by foreign intelligence services]. To argue that these people would no longer be susceptible to blackmail if the screening law were abolished is naive. Even if the screening law were to be abolished in the future, they would still be assailable, albeit only on a social level. This is another shortcoming arising from the fact that the adopted skeleton treaty simply does not emphasize certain priorities. These should concern, above all, active [zivy] files that are of importance to the security of our Republic.

[Kostalova] Is there anything that could still be done in this matter?

[Pittner] At this moment, I can scarcely imagine any more effective course of action. I remember, for example, a statement by Mr. Mitro, director of the Slovak Information Service [SIS], that, when he asked the Czech Ministry of Interior, which is responsible for the archive of the former Federal Ministry of Interior, that materials regarding a certain specific matter be issued to him, he received a negative reply. The Czech Interior Ministry justifiedly argued that it is not authorized to negotiate with the intelligence services of other states. And our ministry, in turn, is bound by the aforesaid intergovernmental agreement.

[Kostalova] Does this mean that we are powerless? What about the NRSR Committee for Petitions, Legal Protection, and Security, for example?

[Pittner] The Committee is not directly charged with intervening in such matters, even though we will naturally support everything that might mend the situation. It is possible, however, that, after some time, the Czech side will come to understand our fears and that the anticipated cooperation within the framework of the Visegrad group, in particular, will make it change its view of cooperation between the appropriate bodies of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic in this area.

SNS Fears 'Introduction of a Police Regime'

AU2103171994 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 18 Mar 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Appeal by the Slovak National Party to the Citizens of Slovakia"]

[Text] Bratislava—In an appeal addressed to the citizens of the Slovak Republic through TA SR yesterday, the Slovak National Party [SNS] called on the citizens to keep calm and not to permit Slovakia to be defamed any further.

In its appeal, the SNS draws attention to the "difficult situation in which power has been seized by people who brought about destabilization and are trying to preserve this situation under the slogan of democracy and by inciting provocations." It expects a further escalation of the attacks on the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the SNS, and, therefore, it appeals to citizens not to let themselves be provoked into ill-considered actions, the consequence of which might be the introduction of a police regime and a ban on national parties.

"Let us hold out together. Today's situation in parliament does not reflect the will of the population. The SNS, in cooperation with the HZDS, avails itself of all political means, with your help and by making use of the referendum as the most democratic means to get rid of power people who were opposed to the independence of the Slovak Republic or who, after losing their lucrative posts, have left the political entities that deserve the credit for the founding of the Slovak Republic and for returning decisionmaking on Slovak causes into Slovak hands."

NBS Provides Data on Meciar Government's Debt

AU2103195094 Bratislava SME in Slovak 18 Mar 94 p 3

[Report by "is": "According to Slovak National Bank Data, Meciar Government's Debt Amounts to 60 Billion"]

[Text] Bratislava—The foreign currency reserves of the Slovak National Bank [NBS], excluding gold reserves, represented about $415 million as of 31 December 1993, $405 million as of 9 March 1994, and $439 million as of 14 March 1994. Slovakia's total foreign currency reserves (NBS reserves plus foreign exchange assets of commercial banks) reached $1.853 billion by 9 March. "Both NBS reserves and total foreign currency reserves can be considered stable, and, therefore, I see no reason to correct the targets of the monetary program for 1994," NBS Governor Vladimir Masar said within the framework of a meeting of the NBS Banking Council.

The external indebtedness of the government sector increased from $1.6 billion on 31 March 1993 to $1.9 billion by 31 December 1993. The overall external indebtedness of the Slovak Republic, including the debts of banks and the entrepreneurial sphere, increased from $2.35 billion on 31 March 1993 to $3.169 billion by 31 December 1993. "The NBS has met all of its commitments," Vladimir Masar added. The servicing of the Slovak Republic's debt, including commitments toward the Czech Republic, represents $346 million this year, of which $229 million is principal and $117 million interest. Asked by SME about the situation of the current account of Slovakia's balance of payments (account of the trade balance plus account of services), NBS Vice Governor Marian Jusko said that the NBS does not avail itself of complete data yet. "The likely result is indicated by Slovak Statistical Office data about the results of our balance of trade in 1993, which ended with a deficit of 26.7 billion Slovak korunas [Sk]," he noted. The balance on the clearing account between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic reached 114 million European Currency Units [ECU's] in the Czech Republic's favor by 15 March, which falls 16 million ECU short of the set marginal credit. Hence, there is no imminent danger of payment in freely convertible currency for reason of exceeding the marginal credit.

The state budget deficit reached Sk5.4 billion by 14 March 1994, and, according to the NBS governor, it "evolved within planned limits." Last year's state budget deficit amounted to Sk21.5 billion. When we include payments to the Czech Republic for exceeding the marginal credit on the clearing account, however, the deficit amounted to as much as Sk29 billion. The NBS covered the deficit, which, according to Vladimir Masar, increased drastically toward the end of the year, by means of a direct credit, which led to an inordinate growth of money supply and to the threat of inflation growth. Since 1 January, the state budget deficit has figured in the "state debt" item, and parliament will decide on how it will be covered. The former government's debt came close to Sk60 billion, also as a result of the inclusion of the state budget deficit for last year.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 18 March on page 21 carries an 800-word interview with Julius Toth, outgoing minister of finance, by Igor Zvach. The place and date of the interview, in which Toth assesses his 21 months in office, are not given. Asked about the development of the state budget this year, Toth says: "The latest data suggests that meeting the targets of this year's budget is realistic. In March a year ago, the deficit stood at Sk11 billion; this year it will not exceed Sk3.5 billion. At the same time, we must remember that we have already paid Sk3.5 billion to the Czech Republic for exceeding the marginal credit [on the clearing account] and that we have released more than Sk1.1 billion for the National Insurance Company. The development since January therefore justifies my optimistic assertion that, given a very rational management of resources, it may even be possible to use a certain portion of the projected Sk14 billion deficit not for patching up holes but for development programs. And, inasmuch as the economy has already become stabilized, in my opinion, the budget management could end with much better results than in 1993."]

Meciar Reportedly Sold Enterprises to Supporters

LD2103162494 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Excerpt] The manner in which Meciar's government carried out privatization has been sharply criticized. Our colleague Renata Havranova, editor of PRACE daily, has filed this telephone despatch from Bratislava:

[Havranova] The new finance minister, Rudolf Filkus, spoke very critically in an interview today about the privatization methods of former Prime Minister Meciar, in particular about the practices applied in the period starting on 14 February, when efforts to pass a vote of no confidence in Meciar's government became obvious in the Slovak parliament. Over two days, Meciar managed to sell 30 of the most lucrative Slovak enterprises. All of them have gone to his supporters. [passage omitted]

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Arrives in Warsaw

LD2103161094 Warsaw PAP in English 1520 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Anatoliy Zlenko on Monday afternoon arrived in Warsaw for a two-day official visit.

Later on Monday, the Ukrainian guest will meet for talks with his Polish counterpart Minister Andrzej Olechowski. Following the face-to-face meeting, the two ministers are to co-chair Polish-Ukrainian plenary talks.

Holds Discussion With Olechowski

LD2103175194 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1715 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Mar—Issues of European security and the international situation were the main topics of talks held today by the foreign ministers of Poland and Ukraine, Andrzej Olechowski and Anatoliy Zlenko. The talks, scheduled for half an hour, lasted twice that long.

Plenary talks between both delegations began after the ministers' meeting. These talks focus on bilateral political and economic relations. At the outset of the talks, Minister Zlenko said that Poland and Ukraine are two great neighbors who might play an important role in the region.

Meets With Sejm Speaker

LD2203111594 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1000 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Minister Anatoliy Zlenko met with Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy today. The main subject of the conversation was the parliamentary elections in Ukraine scheduled for 22 March.

Zlenko expressed his concern regarding the large number of candidates—as many as 12—for each parliamentary seat; 60 percent of them are independent. Both Oleksy and Zlenko wondered whether cooperation between Ukrainian political parties would still be possible after the elections.

Deputy Minister Comments on Pact With Lithuania

AU2103193894 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19-20 Mar 94 p 6

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Iwo Byczewski, Poland's chief negotiator in the Polish-Lithuanian talks leading up to the friendship treaty, by Cezary Gmyz; place and date not given: "The Treaty Protects Minority Rights in Accordance With European Standards"]

[Text] [Gmyz] The foreign ministers of Poland and Lithuania have concluded a treaty on friendship and good-neighborly relations. Why have the contents of this treaty not been made public? That does not conform to international practice.

[Byczewski] Ministers Povilas Gylys and Andrzej Olechowski merely initialed the treaty. That merely signifies the formal conclusion of the negotiation process. The contents of important international documents like this are revealed not after they have been initialed but after they have been signed. The signing ceremony will probably take place in Vilnius in April. The treaty will be signed by the presidents of both countries.

[Gmyz] Does that mean that the president will ratify the treaty without parliament's consent and that it will enter into effect immediately after it has been signed in Vilnius?

[Byczewski] The ratification and the signing of a treaty are two entirely different things. The Small Constitution envisages two ways of ratifying international treaties. Treaties that alter borders or result in budget spending have to be approved by the parliaments of both countries in the form of ratification laws before they can be ratified by the politicians. As far as lesser treaties are concerned, the president of each country may ratify them without the consent of parliament. The treaty with Lithuania is, of course, a treaty of great importance, and we want it to undergo what we in diplomatic language call major ratification—i.e., following parliament's consent.

[Gmyz] The greatest problem during the negotiation process was presented by history itself—to be more precise, the taking of Vilnius by Polish General Zeligowski in 1920. How has this problem been resolved?

[Byczewski] Treaties are concerned not with the past but with the future. For this reason, the Polish side has clearly been saying from the very beginning that the treaty cannot contain any assessments of history, and it does not contain any. The preamble does contain certain standard general references to history. Both sides express regret at the conflicts between our countries and the use of force that no doubt occurred, but no concrete events are mentioned and nothing is evaluated.

[Gmyz] Is it true that, in the treaty, we guarantee Vilnius as the capital of Lithuania and they guarantee us Warsaw as our capital? If so, what would happen if the Lithuanians wanted to move their capital elsewhere? Would they require Poland's consent?

[Byczewski] The preamle mentions both cities as capital cities, but the treaty itself contains no guarantees that they remain capitals. This is a domestic matter for each country and has nothing to do with international documents. The Lithuanians have always considered Vilnius their historic capital, and I very much doubt if they would ever want to move it somewhere else.

[Gmyz] How does the treaty address the rights of minorities?

[Byczewski] The treaty fully guarantees the rights of minorities in accordance with European standards. The press has unnecessarily been reporting on the treaty only from the angle of history and minority rights. Yet the

treaty also addresses other important spheres such as cross-border and regional trade. After all, it calls for the opening of new border crossings and other important matters.

[Gmyz] What were the talks like?

[Byczewski] I make no secret of the fact that they were hard and complicated. There were five rounds of talks. The negotiations themselves did not exhaust all issues, of course. The ministers mentioned letters about which the general public knows nothing. One day these will be interesting documents for historians. The informal visits of Lithuanian politicians in Poland were also important. First, we hosted Lithuanian Parliamentary Speaker Jursenas, who was accompanied by Lithuanian Deputy Foreign Minister Vladislavas Domarkas. Later came Prime Minister Adolfas Szelevicius. Polish Minister Andrzej Zakrzewksi headed a presidential mission to Lithuania in February. The recent telephone conversation between the presidents of both countries was also important.

[Gmyz] Is the treaty a success of Polish diplomacy, as the Lithuanian opposition parties claim it is?

[Byczewski] It is the conclusion of the talks and the resolution of all thorny issues that constitute a success. It is a bilateral success. Of course, there are always specific people behind every document. At this point, I must commend my colleagues, especially Stefan Meller, who is deputy director of Department One, dealing with Europe. He is a historian, and there were times when his advice and remarks provided the talks with a helpful push. The treaty completes the round of international political agreements with our neighbors. Yet we did not start until 1989.

Defense Minister Briefs Walesa on Visits

LD2103195694 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1823 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Mar—President of the Polish Republic Lech Walesa has received National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk.

Minister Kolodziejczyk briefed the president on his recent visit to Turkey and on a planned visit to the United States and Canada, the president's press office reports.

Talking about his visit to Turkey, the minister of national defense said: "Military diplomacy is going through a period of extensive activities. I hope that close technological cooperation will follow the visit to Turkey. This is a very attractive partner. Within the past 10 years, Turkey has built a modern arms industry from scratch. We hope to establish closer cooperation with this state. An important element of the Turkish visit was also the confirmation of what had been said by President Demirel in Warsaw, that Turkey will continue to support our integration with the European security structures. This was emphasized on many occasions. Here we have a true ally."

Referring to his visit to the United States and Canada, the minister of national defense said: "Our main goal during this trip will be to convince the United States to open up wider to technological cooperation, and to open up wider to assisting in the restructuring of our Army. Similar issues will be raised in Canada."

President Lech Walesa has approved the program for the visit. He drew attention to the need to continue what was achieved by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "We have to do everything to ensure that Poland is integrated into the Euro-Atlantic system," the president underscored.

Negotiations Between Solidarity, Government Begin

WS2203125694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by Pawel Reszka: "Government-'Solidarity'; A Week for Experts"]

[Text] Today experts of the government and "Solidarity" ["S"] are beginning talks. In line with one version (submitted by Marian Krzaklewski at a press conference), they are supposed to prepare proposals of legal changes that would be needed to implement the demands of "S." The team's decisions would then be approved by the Council of Ministers at its next session. In line with another version (a joint communique by the director of the Government Press Office and the "S" spokesman), they are supposed to "review the most important problems submitted by both parties and propose solutions to them within a week. (...) The results of the talks between the prime minister and the chairmen of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union 'S' and other trade unions, just like the results of the work of experts, will be presented and discussed at the session of the Council of Ministers."

"S" says that the failure or success of the talks will determine the staging of a mass protest. Until the decisions are implemented (that is, as the National Committee—KK—spokesman explained to us, until their results are approved by the parliament), the union will strike in line with the earlier schedule.

What "S" Wants To Achieve

"S" is striking to protest the lowering of the living standard of the Polish families. The union presented the following proposals (in line with the words of the "S" spokesman):

—slowing down the rate of increase of the energy prices ("S" claims that it has been accepted by the World Bank)

—increasing the real wages of the people

—implementing the "Pact on Enterprise"

—amending the Budget Law (more money for social aid) and amending the budget-related laws

—collecting income taxes in families (distributing the income among all of the family members, including children); in families with the lowest incomes (on the border of the biological minimum), collecting no tax or lowering the limit

—deducting from the tax the costs of commuting to work and the costs of educating the children

—a five-day workweek and all Saturdays free (so that more people can be employed)

—giving the national property to all citizens.

Which Laws Need To Be Amended

By the end of the week, the "S" experts, along with government representatives, want to come up with proposals of legal solutions that would make it possible to implement the demands. "S" KK Press Spokesman Piotr Zak was not able to tell us which laws "S" believes should be amended.

"This is what the experts are going to discuss," he explained.

An analysis of the demands suggests that their implementation will call for amending the following laws:

—the Budget Law

—the Law on Income Tax for Persons

—the Labor Code

and the adoption of a new law on giving the national property to all citizens.

What Rivals Say to That

"As far as I know, the purpose of the talks between the government and 'S' is the selection of the place to which the problems of this trade union will be forwarded. It may be the Trilateral Committee or the teams negotiating the Charter of Social Guarantees," we learned from Waclaw Martyniuk, deputy chairman of the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement [OPZZ]. Martyniuk informed us that, at the meeting with OPZZ, the prime minister stressed that he wants to hold joint negotiations with all of the trade unions.

Krakow Leader Sees No Dialogue With Center

PM2203095894 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 15 Mar 94 p 5

[Interview with Krakow President Jozef Lassota, local self-government activist and member of the President's Council for Local Self-Government Affairs, by Antoni Lewandowski; place and date not given]

[Text] *During the meeting between the delegates of the Polish Cities Union and local self-government structures and President Walesa's representative Professor Lech Falandysz, most utterances by the mayors and presidents of Polish cities were dominated by a sense of profound disquiet concerning the fate of the democratic system based on local self-government structures. The absence of any results so far after several months of talks by the Commission for Government and Local Self-Government Affairs gave another cause for concern.*

The assembled delegates representing local self-government bodies decided to take advantage of President Lech Walesa's offer and voted to transform the loose representation of local self-government structures (comprising 36 delegates) into the President's Council for Local Self-Government Affairs.

In compliance with the president's suggestion, communicated to the meeting by Prof. Lech Falandysz, the Council elected Professor Maria Gintowt-Jankowicz, director of the National School of State Administration, to the office of chairman.

We asked Krakow President Jozef Lassota, member of the new council and local self-government activist, for a general assessment of the current situation arising from the government's attitude to local self-government structures, a situation that was described during the meeting as "a dialogue of the deaf."

[Lewandowski] How would you comment on the difficulties, reported here by delegates, in achieving a measure of agreement between local self-government structures and central government?

[Lassota] I believe that the government's attitude to local self-government structures can be defined today as a trend following logically from the government's overall philosophy of the methods of state administration. The present government has already demonstrated quite clearly that it is opposed to decentralization. Instead, it favors centralization of state structures.

Both Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak and Minister Michal Strak, head of the Council of Ministers' Office, state officially that they are in favor of decentralization of power. However, we note that, in practice, they pursue a completely different policy. In other words, they say one thing and do another. Attempts by self-government bodies to conduct a dialogue with the central government are not even like a dialogue of the deaf. I would say, quite simply, that we are being cheated. I believe that the government does not even try to play fair with either local self-government bodies or with the public. It is dishonest of the government not to declare openly what it really wants to do.

I have arrived at this opinion of the state of affairs, among other things, on the basis of the talks between representatives of central government and local self-government structures in which I have been taking part. We have not been able to come to an understanding for

long months now. As far as I am concerned, it is quite obvious. We can see from this that we will never come to an agreement on any vital issues.

[Lewandowski] But surely the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for the Reform of Public Administration is still in existence and in operation, is it not?

[Lassota] The fact that the function of plenipotentiary for the reform of public administration is still extant serves only as a smokescreen for the government, designed to suggest that something is being done. In truth, the role of the government plenipotentiary has been reduced to that of a minor official who does not have even the power to bring about the realization of the decisions that had already been prepared for implementation by the previous government. As far as local self-government structures are concerned, this is just another fact attesting to the central government's hostility to all reforms concerning local self-government.

[Lewandowski] How would you evaluate the realization of the so-called "pilot program"?

[Lassota] All decisions the present government made in connection with this program are drastically curtailed in relation to the original version and were only made under pressure from local self-government bodies and public opinion. We began to put the pilot program together in the middle of 1993. It officially came into effect on 1 January 1994. For the past two months, we have encountered nothing but a string of official difficulties. Let me give you just one example concerning both the financial and legal angles of our operations: First of all, we encounter continuous "piling up" of difficulties hampering the transfer of funds to projects envisaged in the program; in addition, the sources supplying finance for the program are regularly blocked. Moreover, to date, voivodas have not received appropriate instructions concerning the pilot program, and, as a result, they are unsure whether they are really supposed to support the pilot program or to reject it. Those who have the courage to assist us on their own initiative have been doing it regardless of the difficulties. Others, though, do not do anything to help us in our operations, and, consequently the whole scheme has so far reached a deadlock.

The above examples demonstrate clearly that the government does not intend to accept responsibility for the realization of the pilot program. It is possible that this is a deliberate "preelection action" designed to undermine the forthcoming local self-government election campaign. It may be that, after the election, the situation will change, but, knowing the central government's general attitude toward these matters, I doubt it very much.

Farmers Trade Union Leader Discusses Movement

PM2103172194 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 12-13 Mar 94 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Lepper, chairman of Samoobrona (Self-Defense) Farmers Trade Union, by Ewa Koszur and Andrzej Sondej; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [GLOS SZCZECINSKI] What is "Lepperism"?

[Lepper] Lepperism is certainly neither Stalinism nor Hitlerism, nor anything similar to these phenomena. It is a movement that arose from the grass roots, from people's sense of injustice suffered, a movement that places the human being first, as a subject in its own right rather than an object.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] Do you, too, feel that injustice has been done to you? At a meeting with Nowogard farmers, you spoke of your debts, which exceed one billion zlotys [Z], and of your inability to pay them off because interest payments are accruing on them like an avalanche.

[Lepper] The reason I became politically active was not simply that I had fallen into the debt trap. I carried out an in-depth analysis of the situation ensuing from our involvement with the World Bank and the IMF. With the very high interest rates that have been given us in the form of a diktat, Poland has no chance whatsoever to develop in any way. I could have sorted out my own affairs a long time ago; I had several offers of help. However, I take a wider view of the situation. And I have a sense of duty. If I know the truth concerning certain World Bank operations and World Bank funds, I am obliged to pass it on and make it public. [passage omitted]

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] During the election campaign, everyone in Poland listened as you spoke of debts and social injustice, and then the promotional campaign advertisements broadcast by the TV election studios showed you in a brand new sports Mercedes.

[Lepper] I have a 10-year-old Fiat 125, which can be easily verified. My house is old and very small—just three tiny rooms. One of our colleagues from Warsaw drives a BMW, another gave me a lift in his Mercedes to the television interview. People in our group own a variety of good cars, but that does not automatically mean that Lepper has one, too.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] You have a 50-hectare farm. Who runs it and works on it on a daily basis, inasmuch as you occupy your time with political activity and travel around the country a great deal?

[Lepper] I have an agreement with a group of younger farmers who can use my agricultural machinery and equipment and, in return, cultivate my land in addition to their own. But my yields are now much lower than in

the past, when I sometimes collected as much as 60-90 hundredweights of wheat grain per hectare, working with quite poor—4th-, 5th-, and even 6th-grade—soils.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] You told farmers that you are in favor of progress but, at the same time, against banks with marble-lined halls and computers everywhere. In that case, what do you understand by progress?

[Lepper] We do need computers in banks, and perhaps we also need new banks, but there is one question that still needs answering: If those computers and those banks fail to give us credits for agricultural production and, as a result, our agricultural production begins to decrease, are the computers and the new banks really the most important investment at this stage of our development? I am in favor of progress. And, if we do not have appropriate new technologies ourselves, we certainly need to make use of world achievements in that area. However, we must not do that at the risk of destroying our own achievements in the process. For example, could we not concentrate, in state farms being set up in new premises, on promoting modern agricultural practices centering on the agricultural food-processing industry? Such enterprises would represent closed systems, where agricultural raw material would be produced, processed, and even sold. This would benefit the urban sector as well as the rural community because it would significantly shorten the path between producer and consumer.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] You criticize everyone at your meetings: the president, the peasant prime minister, the State Treasury Agricultural Property Agency, the banks, the IMF....

[Lepper] If we want to leave the path of our subjection to diktat and Poland's dependence on others' decisions, then we must be prepared to say "Halt!" in three instances—that is, to carry out the banking reform and to invest in production credits connected primarily with the construction and agricultural sectors. This would, at the same time, solve the unemployment problem for us. Of course, we must find the means to carry out all these operations. Without money we really will not achieve anything at all. This could be in the form of cash or either credit cards or checks.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] But where would we find the funds to back these?

[Lepper] Data published by the Main Statistical Office provide reliable information on the state's assets. From this, we could take 10 percent and get going. Money can simply be printed.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] But what about inflation?

[Lepper] And how is inflation created now? After all, when there is no production, the living standards will fall, too. Already there are 40 percent of householders who can no longer afford to pay the rent. If this goes on, we will eventually fall into such a trap that only 10 percent will be able to pay the rent.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] As we listen to you we are reminded of Boleslaw Tejkowski's latest conference. The difference is that you do not place the whole blame squarely on the Jews, the Americans, and the Germans, but chiefly on the World Bank and the IMF. Would you agree if we were to tell you that your views are very similar to those proclaimed by the Polish National Community?

[Lepper] I know the Polish National Community's program, but my views are most certainly not convergent with its. The only shared trait could be that our groups have arisen out of national movements. Ours is also a national movement, but it is not chauvinistically so.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] Like Zhirinovskiy's, or Le Pen's?

[Lepper] I recently read Le Pen's *Hope*, and I believe that there is much sense in what he says. I am not an anti-Semite, and I have nothing against ethnic minorities in Poland, but I keep repeating that Poland should be ruled by Poles.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] We talk about values—what is right and what is wrong. But your Samoobrona is assessed in negative terms by the majority of the population.

[Lepper] That is your own opinion. I believe that our group is influencing wider and wider reaches of society. Our next congress, which will be held in May of this year, will show how many members we have attracted. We had a "blank" in the Szczecin region before, but now I find that even here there are people who support us. [passage omitted]

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] You are no longer the same Andrzej Lepper the peasants' leader that you were three years ago. Instead, you have become a politician. It seems that you are losing contact with farmers....

[Lepper] When it was necessary for someone to stand at the head of the protesters at Lysomice, cut through the haggling and get rid of the head of the Regional Agency, I accepted the challenge and did all of those things. I have gained a lot of experience over the past three years, but I have not changed. I am still as radical as I was then. I expect that we will soon take over yet another dismantled state farm in your area, in Szczecin Voivodship, rather than allow it to go to ruin.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] Are you planning to use the wheelbarrow [reference to trade unions' traditional ritual when deposing officials] again?

[Lepper] Why should we need a wheelbarrow? The employees of the Torun state farms complex have been striking under our banners, but there is still work there, and the enterprise manager is staying put. The only thing

is that the new owner is not being allowed on the premises. We will do the same here if that is the work force's will.

[GLOS SZCZECINSKI] What will Lepper be like in five years' time? Will Samoobrona still be around?

[Lepper] This is a difficult question, but everything seems to indicate that our movement could at a certain moment dominate the political scene in Poland. I deeply hope and believe that we will in the end reach out to all of the farthest corners of Poland. People will come to understand that they must take responsibility for their own defense.

Pawlak Says Budget Discipline To Continue

LD2203104794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0929 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Mar—Parliamentary democracy and market economy are the foundations of the current government program, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak said on 22 March when addressing about 200 participants in an international forum in Warsaw that had been organized by the FINANCIAL TIMES under the slogan "Doing business in Poland."

The prime minister emphasized that his government would observe discipline in monetary and budget policies and that it would continue the privatization process, while also involving foreign capital. He pointed out that it was necessary to achieve public support for the economic reforms being implemented. "We want the reforms to affect not only the elite but also the whole of society," he said.

Polish President Lech Walesa, in a letter sent to forum participants, pointed out that "Poland has a central position between the East and the West, the North and the South, and, consequently, it must be part of the integrated continent because this is in the interest of the whole of Europe. Poland is a country of enormous possibilities and a place where good business can be done. To place your stakes in Poland means to choose success," the president added.

Poll: Business Does Not Approve of Pawlak

WS2103174594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Mar 94 pp 1, 5

[Article by Piotr Aleksandrowicz: "Business Community Does Not Approve of Waldemar Pawlak; Social Research Institute for RZECZPOSPOLITA; Company Managers Critical, Concerned Over Government Policies"]

[Text] *Just 9 percent of managers of Polish companies approve of the way Waldemar Pawlak has been performing as prime minister. Fifty-five percent of company owners, managers, chairmen, and their deputies do not approve of Pawlak's performance, while over one-third has no opinion on the issue. The prime minister enjoys only a marginally better approval rate from the state-owned sector (12 percent in favor, 49 percent against), whereas, with regard to the cooperative sector, the approval rate is more or less the same as the average. Such are the results obtained from a poll conducted in February by the Social Research Institute, despite the fact that evaluations of the climate for making money are getting better and better.*

The results of this research involving a group of more than 500 managers of companies, which is another in a series (fourth in a row), are clearly different from responses obtained during a survey conducted among Poles generally. During a poll of citizens at large conducted in mid-February, 36 percent agreed with the way the prime minister performs his job, whereas 35 percent disagreed. In March, the prime minister's approval ratings suffered a slight deterioration (33 percent approve, 37 percent do not), but these results are definitely better than those obtained during polls of economic leaders. The prime minister's social support basis consists of senior citizens, residents of rural areas, farmers, and the least educated people. The business community is against him, and so are people with higher educations, the young, and city residents.

They Would Prefer Another Prime Minister

So it is no wonder that, while responding to another question of the survey (which is Poland's only representative poll of company owners and managers), only between 10 and 20 company managers (3.5 percent) said that, in their view, Pawlak would be the best prime minister from the standpoint of the entire economy and of their respective companies. In February of this year, the top consisted of Kwasniewski and Suchocka (each with 11 percent of the voters) and Balcerowicz (9 percent). Apart from them, Pawlak was beaten by Olechowski (7 percent) and Borowski and Korwin-Mikke (4 percent each). The current prime minister suffered a loss compared with December 1992, when 5 percent of the polled company managers were in favor of him. Olechowski and Balcerowicz clearly suffered their own losses in that time period (by a few percentage points); Suchocka suffered a minor loss, while Kwasniewski gained the most (a jump from 2 percent).

Government Is Not Approved, Either

The rate of approval, or rather of disapproval, for the government is (in the poll of company managers) identically the same as for the prime minister (within the statistical error)—that is to say, it is also very low. Ten percent of company owners, managers, chairmen, and their deputies approve of the way the government does its job, whereas 53 percent do not approve. In this case, managers of companies in the private sector are the most critical, but the differences are minor, and they are mostly due to an increased percentage of the undecided among managers in the cooperative and state-owned sectors. Also in these sectors, it is hard to find signs of approval.

It is a characteristic trait that neither Pawlak nor the government as a whole is approved of by those managers who voted for the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] or the Democratic Left Alliance in the September elections. Because there were relatively few company managers who voted for the PSL to begin with, the margin of error may be slightly higher than usual, but there is no doubt that the business community is satisfied neither with Pawlak nor with the government. Those managers who during the elections voted for the parties currently in power are not satisfied, either. At most, there is a somewhat greater confusion for that reason among managers who are left-wing, compared with the rest of the managerial group.

Economy Opposed to Authorities

The question arises: What is the reason for this phenomenon? Our research provides plenty of data in that regard, requiring thorough analysis—and we will do that. What can be seen immediately is the fact that company managers are critical of the prime minister and the government, despite a positive assessment of the economic climate, generally speaking.

Currently, as many as 61 percent of the polled company managers think that there is a climate for making money in Poland. In June 1993, the proportion was 53 percent, whereas, in December 1992, it was 49 percent. The improvement in the economic microclimate, which can be seen in forecasts of higher sales or higher profitability of the managers' companies, among others, is accompanied by current views of worse prospects for the entire Polish economy than was the case in the middle of last year. So the company managers are most probably convinced that their companies will be developing in spite of the authorities that are making mistakes and conducting policies not conducive to the economy as a whole.

There are more reasons to think the proposition is true—namely, in response to another question, those polled expressed their concern over the government's economic policies more often than they did a few months ago (22 percent currently, 17 percent in June 1993). But, in all fairness, that was not the issue that was listed as the most important. More often, there was talk about the companies' internal problems, inflation, and the changing legal provisions.

Barriers for Development

But, with regard to another question, one about what the greatest obstacles are to developing businesses, there were increases by a few more points regarding the changing legal provisions and the high taxes; these, after all, are issues that are directly up to the government to decide.

They were listed most frequently already in the past, but right now the percentage of company owners who complain about them reached 70 percent, when it comes to the changing legal provisions, and it exceeded 50 percent with regard to tax levels. Perhaps it is the wave of changes in legal provisions associated with the new team coming to power (these changes were partially prepared by the previous government) and more tax raises that are the reason for the reluctant attitude toward the authorities in power since the fall of last year.

We also asked company managers about their approval or disapproval regarding a few specific issues relative to the economy. Only government measures in issues like privatization enjoyed a higher approval rating than a disapproval rating (57 percent and 34 percent, respectively). Regarding other issues that we asked about, lack of approval clearly prevailed. And so the ratios of approving managers to disapproving ones, regarding government measures, were as follows on the following issues: taxes—15 to 79 percent; customs duties and compensatory payments—31 to 55 percent; price policies and inflation—18 to 73 percent; and salary policies—20 to 66 percent.

More Than Just Numbers

From the standpoint of election arithmetic, the results of the poll are not very significant. In Poland, there are fewer economic units (including one-person partnerships) than there are agricultural farms, whereas there are slightly over 100,000 companies employing at least five persons (which is the kind included in our poll). Despite that, it is obvious that the poll results constitute a serious warning to both the governing coalition and the prime minister personally, and that is due to the specific position and power enjoyed by entrepreneurs and company managers, the economy's leaders.

* * *

The poll was conducted by the Sopot-based Social Research Institute between 14 and 26 February, using a sample of 516 managers (as chiefs or their deputies) in companies employing at least five persons. Seventy percent of the respondents were managers in charge of privately owned companies, while managers in charge of state-owned and cooperative companies constituted 15 percent each.

Foreign Ministry Hails Bosnia-Croatia Accords

AU1803185894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 94

[Text] A fax sent to us by the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announces that it greets with satisfaction the signing in Washington of the accord on the creation of a bicommunity federation by the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats and of the accord on the principles of a possible confederation between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs believes that the signing of these documents represents an important step toward decisively involving all sides in the continuation and finalization of the negotiations aimed at a global settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

Emphasizing the decisive contribution made by the United States to the achievement of these accords, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs assesses that, through the sustained efforts by the international community, one can achieve viable and realistic understandings that will contribute to solving a large-scale conflict in the heart of Europe by political means, a conflict that causes tremendous human suffering and great material damage.

The communique reaffirms the Romanian Government's complete readiness to contribute, through its means, to supporting the current positive processes of reestablishing peace and settling problems in keeping with the major interests of the newly emerged states on the territory of former Yugoslavia and of their neighboring countries in the interests of security and peace.

PD-FSN Condemns Government Reshuffle

AU2103194094 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 18 Mar 94 p 3

[Report by Andrei Costa: "The Recent Government Reshuffle Has a Worrying Political Significance"]

[Text] *The Executive Bureau of the Democratic Party-National Salvation Front [PD(FSN)] released a declaration, which was made public yesterday, during the weekly news conference of that political party. We reproduce the text of the declaration:*

"The Democratic Party has taken notice, with profound worry, of a number of recent public actions, culminating in the recent government reshuffle, which damages the honor of Romania's military, create an atmosphere of unrest and dissatisfaction within the armed forces of the country, and, in this way, weakens Romania's national security.

"The aforementioned actions began by the irresponsible and slanderous attacks, having an anti-Romanian character, launched by the Greater Romania Party [PRM] against the leadership of the armed forces and the Ministry of National Defense, especially against [former National Defense Minister Lieutenant] General Niculae Spiroiu. Neither the government, nor any other institution of the state or any of the parties belonging to the current government coalition, deemed it necessary, despite the circumstances, to raise its voice in support of the Romanian Armed Forces and to defend the honor of this country's military. The Superior Council of the army was abandoned and condemned to standing there alone facing this unprecedented aggression.

"What is even more, the government reshuffle that followed created, at least, the impression—if reality is not even worse than the impression—that they are complying with the demands of the extremist and antidemocratic forces, which are obviously promoting interests that are alien to those of Romania. In this context, it is not the appointment of a civilian person to lead the Ministry of National Defense—a customary thing in democratic countries—that creates concern, but rather the replacement of an internationally appreciated officer, who was oriented toward the strengthening of national security by means of our Euro-Atlantic integration, by a greatly disputed person, whose connections with Ceausescu's Securitate are far from being fully cleared up. Even if one accepts that certain departments of the former Securitate had merely technical tasks in serving the country, it is still not tolerable, without running huge risks for our national peace, that employees of the said departments should now take control of the great work of the administration of the armed forces.

"Being preoccupied with the possible negative consequences the aforementioned events might exert upon the morale and the efficiency of the Romanian Armed Forces, the Democratic Party requests from all state power factors that they should immediately initiate measures to restore and safeguard the honor and security of the armed forces, the cornerstone of our national edifice.

"Similarly, we also request that the Commissions for Defense, National Security, and Public Order of [the two chambers] of Parliament should urgently intervene by investigating this case, verifying the various presuppositions referring to the real causes that led to the changes in the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense, clear up of the personal situation of the current defense minister, as well as indicate permanent and urgent parliamentary solutions intended to safeguard the moral and action integrity of the armed forces, the guarantor of our country's independence and sovereignty."

Talking about the recent government reshuffle, Mr. Adrian Severin [deputy chairman of the PD(FSN)] assessed that it was not what it had been intended to seem, namely that will not lead to the improvement of the government's performance by the contribution of new experts, being rather a political act, in the best case, a premature one, having a worrying political significance. His conclusion was alarming: It seems that certain levels of Romania's Government are beginning to act autonomously and, cooperating with the other parties of

the red pentagon [reference to the National Romanian Unity Party, the Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania, the Socialist Party of Labor, and the Greater Romania Party, currently supporting the ruling party], excluding the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], they are trying to set up an autonomous bloc. It seems that Prime Minister [Nicolae] Vacaroiu and his close aides had an essential role in the government reshuffle. If one connects this to a number of other phenomena, which had been detected earlier, Severin said, one might reach the conclusion that the recent dialogue between the forces of the opposition and the party having the relative majority, the PDSR, has triggered an alarm reaction on behalf of the government and the other parties of the red pentagon, representing the most substantial part of the extremist, xenophobic, and antidemocratic parties.

Iliescu, Vacaroiu Implicated in Spy Scandal

AU2103193494 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Mar 94 p 3

[Interview with former Romanian Transportation Minister Traian Basescu by Ana Maria Vintan; place and date not given: "As Long as They Are in Power, I Will Not Give the Evidence to the General Prosecution"]

[Text] [Vintan] Mr. Basescu, in what sense in President [Ion] Iliescu involved in the espionage case you mentioned?

[Basescu] I clearly said that confidential documents of the Petromin company were transferred to General [Nikos] Grylakis in Greece, the route being Romanuel Posedaru [one of the directors of Petromin], [former Romanian Transportation] Minister [Paul] Teodoru, and General Grylakis. I do not know whether the documents were personally handed over by Minister Teodoru or rather [presidential counselor] General [Vasile] Ionel. I presume, it was General Ionel. My presumption is based on the fact that I cannot imagine Minister Teodoru holding talks with an intelligence general [Grylakis], because he is too bright to establish direct ties with an intelligence general.

[Vintan] Do you mean you never referred to President Ion Iliescu?

[Basescu] No, I never referred to him. It is the merit of your daily to have also mentioned Iliescu's name, although I am not prepared to state that the things published by ROMANIA LIBERA were lies.

[Vintan] For how long have you been holding these pieces of information?

[Basescu] For a very short time, and I also have evidence. Otherwise I would not venture to make such assertions. I have never asserted anything publicly without also being able to prove it. The case of Romanuel Posedaru may be explained in the following way: He handed them [the documents] over upon the orders of Minister Teodoru. The responsibility for delivering those documents to Grylakis mostly lies with Teodoru.

[Vintan] The persons you accused are asking why you need to interpret a commercial transaction as an espionage case involving the highest-level officials of the state power.

[Basescu] First let us take a look at the Forum Maritime-Petromin deal. There was this insignificant and honest Katounis, a person who did not have either a bad or a good reputation in the shipping business; he was merely an obscure shipping businessman. Well, one fine day he unexpectedly comes to conclude a contract by which he would have taken control of 51 percent of Romania's oil tankers and ore carrier ships [the Petromin fleet]. This man had received the necessary information, by way of that Arab, Taher, before he came here to conclude the contract. He held information both regarding the financing contracts and the commercial contracts that had been concluded by Petromin. He is not a dumb person and this is proved by the fact that by the end of 1993 the company began to make profit. Currently its profits amount to 500 million lei. So he came precisely at the right time. In 1993, he intended to sign a contract by which he would have taken over the company. At the same time, Minister Teodoru was making a great fuss everywhere claiming that Basescu had left him a bankrupt Petromin [company]. But look here, it is not bankrupt at all. In June 1993, Teodoru and [Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae] Vacaroiu claimed vehemently that 51 percent of Petromin ought to have been sold to Katounis because the company was going bankrupt. And look what happened, eventually the contract did not become effective and the company is making money. This means that they [Teodoru and Vacaroiu] lied to justify an unfavorable contract. Under such circumstances, if a prime minister and a minister sign a contract that is later declared illegal, normally they should have no other choice but to step down.

[Vintan] What is your opinion about the arrest of the four former Petromin directors?

[Basescu] This is a political game, in which—considering that the contract has been declared illegal—the state power, Teodoru and [Ion] Honcescu [head of the Prime Minister's Control Corps] have staged the whole thing by having the four former Petromin directors arrested.

[Vintan] Do you think they are innocent?

[Basescu] Absolutely! They are victims of a major hoax intended to fool public opinion. The press also made a great fuss about it, of course, because it is a spectacular case. All this happened on the eve of the court ruling on the Petromin-Forum Maritime contract, in which Teodoru and Vacaroiu are fully involved. Everyone let themselves be led astray by the hoax and ignored precisely what was essential, namely that, for the first time ever, a government decision is rejected by our justice. And that the prime minister and a minister, who were

coauthors of that illegal decision are now fine, thank you very much, and on top of it they are given the chance to be appear as the defenders of the people for having ordered the arrest of the four [directors].

[Vintan] What do you intend to do with the evidence you have?

[Basescu] My number one priority is to convince [the court] that the four persons have been arrested for nothing. You might also find it difficult to believe that. I was not involved in any illegal dealings together with the four, they are simply four colleagues of mine, four innocent people who are victims of the dispute between myself, on the one hand, and Vacaroiu and Teodoru on the other. I hope I will be able to address an open letter to Teodoru and Vacaroiu to point out the illegal dealings they are involved in and to prove that they are abusing these people, and that the day will come when they will be held responsible for it.

[Vintan] Do you intend to hand the evidence over to the General Prosecution?

[Basescu] No, as long as those people are in power I will not do that. I know they control the prosecution.

[Vintan] You know that your party [Democratic Party—PD] has concluded a nonaggression pact with the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania—ruling party]. The majority of the persons accused by you are orbiting around that party.

[Vintan] I do not want to hear about political pacts. If need be, I will become an independent parliamentarian, but I will still defend my opinions. They wanted me to be a member of the [PD] commission that held negotiations with the PDSR, but I refused, precisely because there is nothing I can negotiate with such partners.

Pancea Ridicules Espionage Charges

AU1703214194 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 15 Mar 94 p 3

[Letter addressed by Lieutenant General Marin Pancea, secretary of the Supreme Defense Council and counselor to President Ion Iliescu, to Ion Cristoiu, editor in chief of EVENIMENTUL ZILEI]

[Text] Mr. Ion Cristoiu,

Being convinced of the fact that the following will be integrally published in the pages of the daily you head in order to more "fully" inform public opinion, I am sending you this letter and also ask for your concrete support.

I have learned from the 14 March 1994 issue of EVENIMENTUL ZILEI that I have a new capacity—besides being a KGB and GRU agent, about which I also learned from the press, and that news was also carried by EVENIMENTUL ZILEI as well—namely that now I am also "a spy for the French secret service."

Owing to the fact that the remuneration I am entitled to from that secret service to which you referred has yet not been remitted to me, I am asking for your support in my efforts to collect the amount the French secret service owes me in exchange for the information I offered them about the sessions of the Supreme Defense Council of the country, and which, according to EVENIMENTUL ZILEI, were "channeled" there via your hero, Radu Petrica Popa, whom the daily you head presented not as a crook, but rather as a victim of deception.

I am counting on your "good will," because as far as I can see, you have already specialized in investigating and clearing up cases such as mine, although, considering that this is an espionage case, you should have kept total secrecy and "whisper about it solely in my ears," and then we might have been able to find a mutually profitable formula to "secludedly" split the reward I am entitled to from the French secret service and which, I presume, must be a very substantial one, given especially my high capacity, rank, and value.

However, owing to the fact that your daily has already aired the issue in public, we now have to obey the rules of consistency, because now we cannot afford to hide anything and therefore I hope that you will accept that our mutual "cooperation" should be done also in public, although in this case, I ought to warn you, I am not ready to split the dollars with you.

Hoping that you will publish this letter and thanking you in advance for your support, yours,

THE SECRETARY OF THE SUPREME DEFENSE COUNCIL OF THE COUNTRY [title in capital letters as published],

Lieutenant General Marin Pancea

Says Allegations Attack on Iliescu

AU1803192094 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 16 Mar 94 p 3

[MEDIAFAX interview with Lieutenant General Marin Pancea, secretary of the country's Supreme Defense Council, counselor of President Ion Iliescu; place and date not given: "General Marin Pancea Believes That the Attacks of the Press Are Actually Directed Against the Presidential Institution"]

[Text] [MEDIAFAX] Mr. General, in your opinion, what is the source of the information alleging that you are an agent of the French secret service?

[Pancea] The source on which the article published by [daily] EVENIMENTUL ZILEI relies intends, in my opinion, to mislead, rather than correctly inform public opinion. Probably we have to deal with certain circles that are interested in circulating information that can deceive and especially mislead public opinion in Romania. As a matter of fact EVENIMENTUL ZILEI is known as a daily that, rather unfortunately, instead of following a line that could lend it a note of seriousness in

the way it discusses the approached issues, has for a very long time proved to be rather a scandal paper, a sensation paper, and it still seems to be following that line, in its usual style.

[MEDIAFAX] Still, who do you think offered them that piece of information?

[Pancea] I do not merely think, but I am also certain that all this information has been forged by someone who uses it to cause a sensation. It may not be the daily itself, but rather certain circles that are interested in such a thing; I do not wish to name anyone, because I do not have absolute evidence about the existence of such enemies. That is life, I think that one may have friends as well as foes, but sometimes it is very difficult for one, in the middle of this flood of information, to spot the persons who might be envious of one.

[MEDIAFAX] Have you or have you not been transferred to reserve duty by President Iliescu?

[Pancea] I have no knowledge of that. I did not discuss that issue with the president, either before he left or after he returned home [from his tour of Lithuania, South Korea, and China]. Of course, the president knows about my intention to retire, considering my advanced age compared to the [retirement age] currently existing in the armed forces. I am almost 66, so you realize that, in the army, I am considered one of the oldest officers, even among the generals. As it is known, according to both the currently valid status of military cadres and to the one that is being discussed in parliament, the maximum age is 62 years. This means that I already exceeded that limit by four years.

[MEDIAFAX] Have you spoken to the president about your problem? What is his opinion?

[Pancea] I have not spoken with the president because—and you will have to agree—his agenda is full of other issues, far more important ones than my problem, and if he were to deal personally with everything that is published by the press, he would not have enough time to deal with the issues he, as the country's president, is expected to solve.

[MEDIAFAX] The item that accused you of espionage also claimed that you have been recruited by Tudor Anescu. What are your relations with that person and, of course, with the other two: Lucian Cornescu and Radu Petrica Popa?

[Pancea] If we also take into consideration the things published by other papers (EXPRES MAGAZIN and TINERAMA), initially I was a KGB agent who was recruited, as TINERAMA claimed last year, by some KGB agents in the old days, while I was a military attache in Paris. What do I see now? Probably because they did not achieve their goal by claiming that I was a KGB agent, they changed course and called me an agent of the French secret service recruited by Mr. Anescu. As far as I could understand from the EVENIMENTUL ZILEI item, they claim that I recruited Anescu, and later on, he, as a double agent, managed to exploit me for intelligence purposes; I am mentioning all this in order to be correct and to refer exactly to the things published by EVENIMENTUL ZILEI. They are all aberrations and imaginary assertions made by a person who is not in his right mind, lest I should call him insane. In connection with Lucian Cornescu, I can tell you that during my service in Paris I had contacts, but not with him, but rather with many other French companies, with the purpose of purchasing military technology and equipment needed by the Romanian army. Of course not all those deals were eventually concluded with French companies. I can give you one example of a deal that was concluded and I can also tell you that nothing came out of the ones [mediated by] of Cornescu, because he did not offer terms and items that were of any interest to the Romanian army. Contrary to him, other companies were successful, such as the Alouette-3-type helicopter, for which, initially, we imported spare parts, after which we imported the whole manufacturing technology.

[MEDIAFAX] Do you mean that their connecting Lucian Cornescu's name with this issue was purely accidental?

[Pancea] That is right, he has no connection with this. That was merely business. The allegations in the aforementioned item are mere hallucinations. Radu Petrica Popa is the person who swindled my son of $30,000, in the sense that he promised to obtain an apartment for him and requested an advance payment; besides my son, other persons were swindled in the same way and their cases were reported by the press. Radu Petrica Popa is a notorious, or a professional, crook; I have never seen him and I talked to him just once, over the phone. What actually happened was that he began to blackmail my son, threatening that if he would not withdraw the complaint he filed with the police requesting his money back, "your father will be kicked out of Cotroceni" [presidential headquarters].

[MEDIAFAX] Is he really such an influential person?

[Pancea] I do not think so. However, I think that he was manipulated by other influential persons who were interested not so much in discrediting me personally or my son, but rather in discrediting me, the Pancea who works for the presidency, that is, their attacks were actually directed against the presidential institution and the president, personally.

[MEDIAFAX] Do you think that you are standing in someone's way?

[Pancea] Personally, I cannot think of any elements from which I could draw the conclusion that I am standing in someone's way, I mean, in the way of some other physical person. I believe that here we have to deal with the interests of certain circles or forces that are very interested in weakening certain structures of the Romanian state, including the council or the secretary of the Supreme Defense Council, which, after all, is one of the

principal bodies of the defense structures of this country, considering the issues it is expected to discuss during its sessions and the decisions it is expected to take regarding national security. I do not think that I, as a person, could be standing in someone's way; the institution I represent could, perhaps.

[MEDIAFAX] Do you think that they are the same circles I referred to in my first questions?

[Pancea] I believe they are the same circles, because the events were connected among themselves in such a way so as to turn an incident between two individuals into an attack against an institution, namely the presidential one. Their attempt to try to deal a blow, not against the place where the events actually took place, but rather way up, against the presidential institution is quite obvious.

[MEDIAFAX] Is it true that during one of the sessions of the Supreme Defense Council it was suggested to the president that he should renounce his visit in France precisely because of the problem with you?

[Pancea] That is a totally wild aberration, which has absolutely no connection with reality. Besides, during the sessions of the Supreme Defense Council, we do not discuss the visits of the president. That is the task of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, our embassies, and the presidency, and not at all that of the Supreme Defense Council, which has no authority in such issues.

[MEDIAFAX] You are a French agent, Mr. Adrian Nastase [speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and executive chairman of the ruling party] is a CIA agent (according to Corneliu Vadim Tudor); how do you account for their "silence" about the possible KGB agents?

[Pancea] Actually we should not talk about the "silence," but rather try to assess this "rain of agents" in the press and handle it according to what it deserves. I, as an expert in this field, can tell you that it does not deserve any attention. The fact that such things are published by the press, in my opinion, is a consequence of our not having an appropriate bill on the press, on the basis of which one could seriously call to account all the persons who circulate such concocted things lacking all real grounds. Being an agent is a very grave thing, it is high treason against one's homeland, and agents do not deserve to remain among society, they ought to be shot or isolated in prisons.

[MEDIAFAX] Many personalities have been accused of spying for Western powers [reference to Greater Romania Party leader Corneliu Vadim Tudor's open letter claiming that top government, presidential officials are working for Western intelligence agencies]. How do you account for the fact that, over the past four years, very few people have been accused of working for the KGB? Do people's minds and imagination not work in that direction as well, in that of [the officials'] cooperation with the KGB?

[Pancea] As an expert in this field, I can tell you that all intelligence services, regardless of the state they belong to, have to establish the goals of their intelligence activity in such a way so as to best serve the interests of their state, be they military interests—which currently are not quite plausible, especially after the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty—or be they scientific or economic interests, on the one hand, or in the field of arms and drugs trafficking and terrorist activity, because currently these are the fields of major interest at the international level, and therefore the majority of the intelligence services of various developed states, which do have such specialized structures, are principally targeted in these directions. This does not mean that they neglect military aspects. If we take just the military part of the intelligence work, beginning with Napoleon's time, all military attaches had the task to gather military information with the purpose of preventing the adversary from taking one by surprise in case of a possible crisis.

NATO Threatens Air Strikes Over Weapons

AU2103183494 Paris AFP in English 1711 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Brussels, March 21 (AFP)—NATO Monday [21 March] demanded that Bosnian Serbs relinquish heavy weapons found inside the exclusion zone around Sarajevo or face airstrikes.

UN peacekeepers Sunday [20 March] discovered Serb tanks and other heavy armament within the 20-kilometer (12-mile) exclusion zone imposed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization around the Bosnian capital last month.

A NATO spokesman said that the United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] was involved in negotiations with the Serbs to settle the issue.

"We expect these weapons to be put under UNPROFOR control immediately as has been the case with other weapons in the exclusion zone," the spokesman said, adding: "Uncontrolled heavy weapons within the exclusion zone remain subject to NATO airstrikes in accordance with NATO's February 9 decision."

On that day NATO issued an ultimatum threatening airstrikes if the parties to the conflict—Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Government forces—did not withdraw their heavy weapons from around Sarajevo or put them under UN control.

UNPROFOR said Sunday's discovery of four tanks, three anti-aircraft guns, four 105mm howitzer and 18 mortars was a "big violation" of the UN demilitarization plan. [passage omitted]

NATO, Serb Leaders Hold Talks

AU2203132694 Paris AFP in English 1244 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, March 22 (AFP)—UN officials and Bosnian Serb military leaders have agreed to settle amicably the controversial discovery of heavy weapons inside the NATO-imposed exclusion zone around Sarajevo, a UN spokesman said Tuesday [22 March].

Major Simon MacDowall, spokesman for the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), said the weapons—tanks, anti-aircraft guns and mortars—were discovered Sunday by Canadian troops in the village of Cifluk right at the edge of the 20-kilometre (12-mile) exclusion zone set by NATO.

He said the weapons were placed under UN control even though the Serbs consider Cifluk outside the exclusion zone.

The Serbs have defined the exclusion zone by using Sarajevo's cathedral as the central point from which to calculate the 20 kilometres while the UN defines the centre about a kilometre further west from the cathedral.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and UNPROFOR chief of staff in Bosnia, Dutch General Adrian van Ball, held a meeting in the Serb stronghold of Pale Monday and agreed to negotiate the controversy. "Van Ball came back very satisfied with the positive attitude of the Bosnian Serbs," MacDowell said. He said the exclusion zone could not be entirely monitored by UN peacekeepers because of a lack of manpower. He added, however, that the situation had been relatively calm since NATO issued an ultimatum February 9 threatening air strikes unless the Serbs and Bosnian government troops withdrew their heavy weapons from around the besieged capital. He said UN military observers had noticed that troops on both sides appeared more relaxed on the frontlines and there was "no more sniping in Sarajevo." "That forward momentum is still going on," he said.

Serbs on 'Misunderstanding'

LD2103182194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1737 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—A meeting was held in Pale today between Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic [RS], and Stanislav Galic, commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija corps of the RS army, on the one hand, and Dutch General van Baal, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] chief of staff for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the other. The aim of the meeting was to clarify the latest controversy surrounding UNPROFOR accusations that a small amount of Serb heavy weapons was found inside the 20-km exclusion zone around Sarajevo in the locality of Cekrcici, north of Sarajevo and in the vicinity of Visoko.

"Today we came to the conclusion that we had used different maps to identify the central point inside the Sarajevo exclusion zone. This led to misunderstanding between UNPROFOR and the Serb side," General van Baal said after the talks. He went on to add that an agreement was reached today to "start work on defining the positions tomorrow," in order to identify the central point in the controversial zone. Meanwhile Karadzic will talk by phone with Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's envoy. We were in complete agreement regarding the situation in connection with the weapons inside and outside this zone and I think that today we achieved great success in the resolution of this problem, General van Baal said, expressing his gratitude to the Serb side and President Karadzic himself for their extremely good cooperation and understanding.

Sarajevo-Romanija Corps Commander Major General Stanislav Galic said the meeting today was very successful. He stated that the misunderstanding arose due to different interpretations about where the center of Sarajevo is. "These misunderstandings have now been resolved, which is yet another illustration of the effective cooperation between UNPROFOR and the civilian and military authorities of the Srpska republic," General Galic said.

UNPROFOR and Srpska republic representatives also met today at the Bratstvo-Jedinstvo bridge which is to be reopened to traffic on 23 March. UNPROFOR representatives for the Sarajevo sector and the Serb authorities in Sarajevo have agreed on details and technical particulars regarding the flow of traffic across this very sensitive location. UNPROFOR has been carrying out intensive preparatory work, the necessary marking and the protection of the bridge, and it is indicative that on the Serb side of the bridge, Russian UN troops were replaced by French UNPROFOR soldiers this morning.

Izetbegovic 'Not Surprised'

AU2103180294 Paris AFP in English 1705 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, March 21 (AFP)—UN forces found heavy weapons including tanks, anti-aircraft guns and mortars inside the NATO-imposed exclusion zone around Sarajevo, a UN spokesman said Monday [21 March]. Calling it a "big violation" of the NATO demilitarization plan, Major Simon MacDowell, spokesman for the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], said Canadians troops had found the arms late Sunday [20 March] in the area where six 120mm howitzers had been found on March 4. He said: "They determined that there are a considerable number of weapons there, more than the six." The newly found weapons included four tanks, three anti-aircraft guns, one 405mm howitzer and 18 mortars, he said.

In Brussels, NATO said the weapons belonged to Bosnian Serb forces.

In Sarajevo, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic said Monday he was not surprised at the weapons find. Izetbegovic, returning from Washington after sealing accords with Bosnian Croat leaders to create a Croat-Moslem federation, said: "We are not surprised. We think those weapons exist in much greater numbers." The Bosnian Government had made reports warning of the existence of Bosnian Serb weapons inside the exclusion zone, he said.

MacDowell added that local-level negotiations between the Canadians and Serb had "not achieved any results in getting the weapons moved out or put under UNPROFOR control." Although near the edge of the exclusion zone, the arms were very near the Sarajevo-Visoko road, which is supposed to be opened to limited civilian traffic on Wednesday [23 March]. Izetbegovic, asked if people would need permission to use bridges and the three corridors into Sarajevo being reopened Wednesday, said only those "charged with some offence" would have their movements restricted. MacDowell said the United Nations was trying to arrange a high-level meeting between Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and top UNPROFOR officials at Serb headquarters in Pale near Sarajevo to resolve the arms violation standoff. "The Serbs cannot withdraw straight back out since they've backed up right to HVO (Bosnian Croat) [Croatian Defense Council] lines," MacDowell said. He stressed however that "these guns are not capable of engaging Sarajevo. We have them now under observation." The spokesman added: "But these weapons are where we say they shouldn't be. The situation is not satisfactory from our position. Absolutely not."

Meanwhile Izetbegovic expressed hope that opposition from the Bosnian Serb side to the Bosnia federation agreement signed Friday would be resolved at future talks. "There will be an attempt to find a peaceful solution on all the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina with the Serb side," he said. The Bosnian president added that he would invite Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to Sarajevo to discuss a separate plan for a loose confederation between Croatia and the Moslem-Croat federation.

Meanwhile Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Siladjzic, who also made the Washington trip, said any negotiation with the Serbs would "start with the question of returning land and will always go back to this question."

French Troops Carrying Ammunition to Muslims

LD2203132694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1255 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, March 22 (TANJUG)—Police in the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.) stopped Monday a French U.N. battalion convoy carrying from Croatia ammunition to Moslems in western Bosnia, writes Belgrade's daily POLITIKA EKSPRES.

The R.S.K. was proclaimed in 1991 by Serbs in the Serb ethnic and historical territories in response to Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslav Federation and Croatia's violations of human and national rights of Serbs there. It lies between the former Yugoslav Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

The Belgrade daily set out that the French convoy was stopped at the Krajina-Croatia Turanj border-crossing and that the explosive cargo was intended for the Moslems in the Cazin region, a Moslem enclave in western Bosnia.

The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] members presented the papers for the cargo showing they were carrying 720 rounds of mines for 80 mm mortars, 60 smoke pots, 112 packs of teargas and 21 signal rockets which the Moslems in the Cazin region used as a gift from NATO, the daily said. When asked by the R.S.K. border police to examine the cargo's content and establish it matched the description in the papers, the check was not allowed. After that the R.S.K. police returned the convoy to Croatia, the daily noted. The daily added that one day (Sunday) prior to this event Canadian UNPROFOR member tried in the same way to drive six trucks with 10 tonnes of ammunition towards their base in the Lika area, but lacking permission and prior announcement were turned back to Croatia.

One may understand the claim that UNPROFOR was "replenishing" its ammunition stocks, but the question remained what the teargas and smoke grenades and mines were for, asked the daily. "Does the U.N. expect some special military action soon and what kind? Perhaps this action is to be veiled by a smoke screen, so that there can be no detection from which side hostile action comes from. Or is this the "dowry", as ordered, for the latest Croatian-Moslem "marriage" in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina for some future time?" the daily asked.

The Bosnian Moslems and Croats, who clashed for the past year for domination over territories, signed under U.S. pressure last Friday in Washington an agreement on forming a Moslem-Croatian federation in Bosnia which would later form a confederation with the neighboring Croatia.

Political analysts say the motive for creating the Moslem-Croatian federation and subsequently a confederation with Croatia was to isolate and pressure the Serb side into accepting the peace settlement as designed by the West.

Izetbegovic, Silajdzic Hold News Conference

AU2103161694

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1305 GMT on 21 March carries a live relay of the news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, and Bosnia-Herzegovina Justice Minister Kasim Trnka on the recent signing of the Bosnian-Croatian federation/confederation agreement in Washington. The questions are posed by unidentified correspondents either in English or Serbo-Croatian and a simultaneous translation is provided both ways. The news conference lasts approximately 40 minutes

All the answers by President Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Silajdzic are fully texted.

Before the first question is asked, Izetbegovic tells the reporters that "there will be no special statement. We have given enough of those. We are at your service."

Asked whether the federation/confederation agreement is the "final solution" to the relations with the Croats and whether the same is planned with the Serbs, Silajdzic says "I am afraid that the term final solution has bad connotations, but the solution is in the federation, and it has been done in good faith. I hope that it will be implemented in good faith. The same solution would be, and is going to be presented to the Serbs and offered to them for acceptance. This is all I can say about it. The draft constitution is already there, and is of course available in English. Thank you."

An unidentified reporter asks whether the federation and confederation with Croatia allows the Serbs, or their republic, to confederate with Serbia, and Silajdzic says that "It is only natural that the Serbs live in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and I must remind you here that the whole federation concept is based on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Within that, it is only natural that the Serbs, the Bosnian Serbs, have certain ties with Serbia. That is of course a matter for discussion at negotiations."

Replying to the question as to when the confederation agreement could come in force, Izetbegovic says "After the solution to the entire issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, after the issue with the Serbian side is resolved. If that issue is not solved within a reasonable amount of time, then the sides will agree on whether to start the implementation of the confederation agreement. However, we will first try and find a solution with the Serb side in Bosnia- Herzegovina, that is, find a peace solution for the entire Bosnia." Izetbegovic then says that "I have proposed to President Tudjman that he come to Sarajevo, this invitation is in the works, and I think it will be sent out today. I do not know how you have already heard of it. This is this morning's decision. I think that it is high time President Tudjman came to Sarajevo. The invitation is to be sent out because we believe that it would be a step toward the implementation of the agreement. There are also certain practical issues that could be solved on that occasion between Bosnia- Herzegovina and Croatia. There are many such issues and that is why I believe that this visit will be useful."

Asked to comment on the decision of UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali to end the work of the commission for the investigation of war crimes, Silajdzic says that "I have heard about the announcement by the secretary general that the commission would cease work. This is the war crimes commission. I do not know about any definite decisions, I only know about the announcement. I must say that it surprised all of us. War crimes are war crimes and cannot be [word indistinct] by investigations. War crimes cannot be ended by an administrative decision. Nobody has the right to forgive the war crimes in the name of the victims. It would be very unusual, and I think that it would set a precedent if the commission were to cease work investigating war crimes on account of a lack of funds. We are sure that the commission will continue to work, and the funds will be found for the commission to continue."

Izetbegovic adds that "I could say here that the funds have already been secured by private sponsors, even though we do not think that this will be sufficient. The United Nations must continue to finance the commission. I am sure that the work of the commission will not cease regardless of whether the United Nations will continue to finance it. We will try and make sure that the United Nations continues to do so."

Responding to a question regarding the solution to the issue of territories that have been ethnically cleansed or are under Croatian control, Silajdzic says that "The

federation is based on universally known human rights, and the human rights are practically the main ingredient of the draft constitution, the main part of the draft constitution. The right of return is one of the rights that will be implemented in this federation. It is quite clear that all the people who have been expelled from their homes will have the right to return to their homes. The minimum that we can do for those who have suffered so much is to give back to them the basic right to return to their homes."

Izetbegovic interrupts, saying that "I would only add here that the results of ethnic cleansing will be ignored in all solutions. All the information, and the draft constitution clearly says so, [changes thought] the demographic picture will be the picture represented at the census of 1991. Therefore no ethnic cleansing will be taken into account. There is a certain provision for that in the constitution."

Silajdzic says "If I may add, human rights are placed immediately after the establishment of the federation. So before any division of responsibility between the federation, the government, and the cantons, before anything else, there are human rights. It is no coincidence, this is based on our conviction that what has happened in Bosnia is actually a savage and gross violation of human rights."

A reporter asks whether there will be any government-imposed restrictions on the movement of the population after Sarajevo is opened, and Izetbegovic says that "there will be no restrictions except those that your government, too, would impose. Only persons against whom criminal charges have been brought will not be allowed to leave the city. I would like to stress that it was us, our government, who insisted that the roads be opened as soon as possible. We have demanded the opening of the southern road, the road that goes via Hadzici. The Serb side, however, was opposed to this. Therefore there will be no restrictions apart from the usual ones."

The same reporter asks whether a "mass exodus" is expected once the city is opened, and Izetbegovic replies that "I expect that far more people will enter the city than leave it. We are afraid of problems connected to that, the program of accommodation, employment, food, and so on. No, we do not expect that the people will leave the city. However, we will not prevent anyone who wants to leave from doing so."

Asked to comment on the fact that the United Nations have found a number of heavy weapons within the exclusion zone around Sarajevo, Izetbegovic says that "I have not received this morning's statement, but we know. I think that two or three times at these news conferences, you will remember, we have been pointing to the fact that there are still weapons within the exclusion zone. We have been pointing to these things. According to our information, there are a lot more of those weapons. I would like to remind you of a report we sent out some 15 days ago and, as far as I can remember, these weapons, these tanks, were mentioned there."

Asked to comment on the fact that the Herceg-Bosna Representative Council has issued a statement that they would condition the federation agreement on the confederation agreement, Izetbegovic says that "There is a provision in the signed document that the confederal agreement would be elaborated on after the federation is implemented. As far as I know, that was also the view of the Croatian side during the negotiations. However, we do not exclude a different solution if an agreement is reached. I do not think that anything stands in its way except that, in our view, the problem of peace should be solved in Bosnia-Herzegovina prior to the establishment of the confederation. This has been the general view, to do that before entering the confederation with Croatia."

Replying to a question on the protection of human rights, Justice Minister Trnka gives a detailed account of the provisions in the draft constitution regarding various courts that would be authorized to deal with such matters. Izetbegovic adds that "Apart from the court for human rights, there will be the institution of ombudsmen, which, by the way, originates from Nordic law, and these will naturally consist of local judges. However, during the transitional period, during the first four to five years, European and international judges will take part in the work of these bodies. They will be nominated by the CSCE and the International Court of Justice. Anyway, during the first five years, foreign judges will also participate in these bodies. Both institutions, the court for human rights and the institution of ombudsmen, will exist."

Asked by a reporter about the territory of the future federation, Silajdzic says that "I think that, if I may say so, Article 1 says that the federation will consist of those territories with majority the Bosniak and majority Croatian populations. That is the definition of the federation. The definite maps will be drawn after we conclude the talks with the third side."

Another reporter asks Izetbegovic what will happen if the referendum in Croatia rejects the confederation agreement, and Izetbegovic says that "If it is rejected and if, according to their laws and their constitution, a referendum has to be held, so if it is rejected, then there will be no confederation. The federation and the confederation are not linked. We have gone for both the agreements, however, from the legal point of view, these are not two connected things. The federation has been detailed, and it will become valid when the Assembly ratifies it. That is when it will become valid. As for the confederation, that depends on whether [words indistinct] and of course—you asked me what if a referendum in Croatia rejects it—there will be no confederation. However, the federation stays. The confederation is an agreement between two sovereign states."

An unidentified reporter cites a statement by Ivan Bender, member of the Croatian delegation, that there

can be no federation without the confederation, and Izetbegovic says that "Mr. Bender is not authorized to give such statements. That will be done by the relevant bodies. That is his personal view and we have to respect that, but he is not authorized. This is just the personal and individual view of Mr. Bender."

Replying to a question on the future relations with the Serbs, Izetbegovic says that "we will start any talks with them, regardless of the options on offer and those accepted, with the demand for the return of the territories. I can repeat that, and I have said it before, we still stand on that position. Any talks with the Serb side, and of course we still do not know who will participate—you know that there will be a Serb assembly on Sunday [26 March]—we will wait for the results of this assembly before any talks. This assembly is a very important body, and it is an important event. Anyway, we will start any talks with them with the issue of returning territories, and the talks will develop depending on the response to that question. I would like to stress in connection with this Serb Assembly, that the Croatian assembly in Sarajevo on 6 February was a very important occasion in the things leading up to the Washington events."

A correspondent asks whether there was any talk in Washington about the Government's minimal territorial demands, and Izetbegovic says that "there was no talk of that. I can only say that questions regarding maps did arise, particularly during the last meeting prior to our departure. That was only an exchange of views, not a demand for us to define our minimum. We repeated our demand that the territories had to be returned. I did not have the impression that such a demand was rejected or that it was met with disapproval."

B-H Army, HVO Repel Serb Attacks

AU2203122894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Report by Mirudin Aldobasic]

[Text] In spite of major defeats and withdrawal from the occupied territories in Novi Seher, Perkovic, and Vobanice, the aggressor continues to engage in provocations and combat activities. Throughout the night as well as early this morning the enemy has been attacking the Tesanj-Novi Seher road and defense lines of the units of the 7th South Operative Group, as well as the settlements of (Mekis), (Karadaglije), and (Radusa) from its stronghold in Crni Vrh. The chetniks also attempted several tank and infantry attacks on the Doboj front. All these attacks were successfully resisted, primarily thanks to the soldiers of the 203d Famous Motorized Brigade Doboj-Bosnia, and the 110th Famous Brigade of the Croatian Defense Council Usora. In addition, new military hardware and manpower from Novi Seher have been observed arriving in this area.

The chetniks were also provoking the defense lines with small arms at of the [word indistinct] 207th Famous Hill Brigade, but naturally without any results.

Muslims, Croats Continue Fighting at Mostar

LD2103160594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1506 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Bileca, March 21 (TANJUG)—There is no peace between the Croats and Moslems in Mostar despite the Washington agreement on a Moslem-Croat federation in Bosnia.

On Monday the Moslems lodged yet another protest with the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) accusing the Croats for violating the ceasefire in Mostar and its surroundings, said Sarajevo Radio in Monday.

Members of the Bosnian Croat armed force (HVO) without any provocation opened strong infantry fire on the separation lines, while in the central parts of the city the HVO fired from hand-held rocket launchers on Moslem positions, Sarajevo Radio said. The Moslem radio failed to say whether the Moslems had returned fire or if there had been any casualties.

A representative of the Moslem authorities on Sunday expressed doubt that life in Mostar would return to normal soon despite the Washington agreement. The Bosnian Croats and Moslems have for the past year been engaged in fierce battles in Mostar in an attempt to divide the city, from which they have expelled almost all the Serbs, into two ethnically clean parts.

The representatives of the Bosnian Moslems and Croats in Washington submitted to strong U.S. pressure to set up their federation in the territory of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and a subsequent one with the republic of Croatia.

Political analysts believe that Washington's initiative aims to isolate the Bosnian Serbs and pressure them to make additional territorial concessions.

Serb, Croat Attacks Continue in Bihac, Mostar

AU2203102694

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 22 March reports the following combat situation in the country over the last 24 hours:

Correspondent from Bihac Mirza Sadikovic reports that "bestial actions and attacks in the Bihac region continued all of last night until now. The Serbian aggressor has been attacking the defense lines in Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau, Hasin Vrh, and [word indistinct] with all available arms." As Sadikovic continues to report, "our defenders are offering heroic resistance." He also says that "Cazin and Bihac commune were shelled early last night and this morning. There were numerous casualties among the fighters and the civilians."

A dispatch from Mostar by the Information Service of the 4th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reports that "over the last 24 hours the fighters of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] on several occasions seriously

violated the cease-fire agreement on the Mostar battlefield. The HVO extremists have opened fire with portable grenade launchers at the separating lines and the town center throughout the night. The HVO snipers in the House Economics School were not sitting idle either." "The chetniks displayed intense combat activities on all battlefields in the zone of responsibility of the 3d Corps," the 3d Corps Information Service reports. "In the Bosna River valley, the chetniks in Blizna attacked the villages Medik and Luke with a Bofors gun and Smaljbasici from a B-1 gun. With 34 shells from a 120-mm caliber mortar the chetniks shelled our positions in Djedovac and Zedni Vrh yesterday evening. Karadzic's criminals from Vlasic opened fire at Turbe, using mortars and Bofors gun. At approximately 1800 they attacked with a B-1 gun. The consequence of this shelling are three injured civilians." It is also reported that "the chetniks in Komare fired one tank shell at Travnik." The 3d Corps then adds that "the cease-fire between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO is more or less being observed. More serious cease-fire violations have been noted in the region of (Luknica) and Brdjani in the Bosna River valley, where the HVO soldiers fired one explosive device and displayed intense small arms fire."

Reporting from Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "the Serbian aggressor continued to shell the lines of Brcko's defense over the last 24 hours. Yesterday at midday the enemy carried out a powerful artillery attack at our positions in Djukici. From the direction of Sekulic, the chetniks fired nearly 100 projectiles of 60-mm and 82-mm caliber." Deronjic adds that "the positions of our fighters on Kladje-Djukici line were the most frequent target of aggressor's mortars in the course of last night. The chetniks were attacking the central part of defense of the free Brcko territory with antiaircraft guns. Two powerful explosions that echoed in the most densely populated part of the temporarily occupied Brcko at 1140 yesterday confirm that the Serbian fascists continue to destroy the biggest town of the Bosnian Posavina."

Muslim Mortar Attack Wounds Serb Civilians

LD2103202894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2011 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Banja Luka, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—At around 1900 this evening Muslim units launched a strong mortar attack on the center of Srbobran (former Donji Vakuf), using 120-mm shells, the information service of the Srpska republic army's 1t Krajina Corps reported this evening.

Five civilians were wounded in the attack, two of them seriously. Significant material damage was caused. [passage omitted]

Muslim Offensive Seen in Attacks on Kupres

LD2103152694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1436 GMT 21 Mar 94

[By Milos Solaja]

[Text] Banja Luka, March 21 (TANJUG)—One member of the army of the Bosnian Serb Republic (R.S.) was killed and two were lightly wounded Monday in infantry and artillery attacks by the forces of the Bosnian Moslems on the Kupres Height, an important strategic point in the southwest of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to the Bosnian Serbs' military sources, the Moslem attacks on Kupres continued for the sixth day.

The same statement said the Bosnian Serb forces were forced to return fire and repel the attack as well as re-gained some 80 percent of the territories the Moslems seized several days ago.

The fighting in the Kupres war zone was another step in the preparations for a major Moslem offensive planned for spring this year. The attack on the Serb positions, 15 kilometers east of the town of Kupres, was somewhat of a surprise as the Moslem forces were not expected to show a stronger interest in this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina at this stage of the war.

The third warring party—the Croatians, who traditionally deem the area of the Kupres plain their "own" zone of interest, were expected to take a much keener interest in this part of the R.S.

However, the Moslems too, seem to have become increasingly aware that the Kupres pass was of strategic significance as it opened the way via Bugojno, Gornji Vakuf, Travnik to the Sava River, in which way the Serb territories in the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia were being divided in two, thereby bringing the Serbian people into a position of dependence in the future peace talks.

Also, the Kupres plain was in the former Yugoslavia one of the most favorable areas to execute airdrops, something which at this time did not imply much but could be decisive in case of an outside intervention.

The recent attack only on the Serb positions near Kupres seems to be at this time more of a tactical than broader significance. This would primarily entail taking possession of positions to deploy heavy artillery which would have played a significant role supporting attacks on Srbobran (formerly Donji Vakuf).

Thus, the assessment that one of the attacks by the Moslem forces, planned as part of the spring offensive, would be directed towards Srbobran and Jajce to form a springboard for further "unification" of the territory of the "independent, integral and sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina" was borne out.

It was indicative that the attack in the Kupres war zone occurred at the time of signing of the Moslem-Croatian federation pact on Bosnia and its subsequent confederation with Croatia.

By way of an agreement with the Croats, Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic won the needed political accord to try a breakthrough towards those areas which have thus far not been given him in the territorial division of interests. Also, a significant part of the Moslem forces engaged so far in fighting with the Croatian forces was now free to fight the army of the Bosnian Serb Republic.

Attacks Detailed

LD2103152194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1455 GMT 21 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Kupres, March 21 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces from Bugojno (central Bosnia) continued attacks on Serb positions at the Kupres plateau for six days now, using infantry and artillery, local Serb military sources said on Monday. In these battles, one combatant of the Bosnian Serb Army was killed, and two others were lightly wounded.

The Kupres plateau is militarily very important, because strategically important roads go from the Adriatic coast towards central and western Bosnia via this plateau.

The issued statement says Serb defenders have so far re-gained about 80 percent of the territory which Moslem extremists from Bugojno seized few days ago. The Moslem forces on Monday attacked the Serb positions between Cajnice, Foca and Gorazde (southeast Bosnia) but all attacks have been repelled with no losses among the Serb troops, these sources said on Monday.

The Moslems continued attempting infiltrating terrorist and sabotage groups behind the Serb lines. One such group was detected Sunday afternoon in the area between Cajnice and Gorazde and their attempt was thwarted on time. Another terrorist and sabotage group suffered the same fate near Teslic (northern Bosnia).

In the wider region of Doboj (northern Bosnia), the Moslem forces continued with usual provocations. The strongest provocations by the Moslem forces were reported near Mt Ozren, whereas re-grouping of Moslem forces was observed in the valleys of the Rivers Bosna and Spreca.

First Aircraft Lands at Tuzla Airport With Aid

AU2203123094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] The first aircraft landed at Tuzla airport at 0935 this morning, carrying 22 metric tons of food, medicine, and seeds, and marking the airport's official opening for the reception of humanitarian aid.

On board the aircraft with its UN markings were Yasushi Akashi, special envoy of the UN secretary general, and General de Lapresle, commander of the UN peace troops for former Yugoslavia. At Dubrave [Tuzla] Airport, these esteemed guests were greeted by Stjepan Kljuic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, General Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces, Salih Kulenovic, coordinating minister for the Tuzla- Drina region, and representatives of the Tuzla district and commune.

Type, Location of Bombs at Tuzla Airport

AU2203115494 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 94 p 6

[Article by D. Vujicic, N. Smiljic: "Dubrave—A Time Bomb"]

[Text] Although Scandinavian and French troops have been at Dubrave Airport near Tuzla for 10 days now, there is no sign that the opening of the airport could occur very soon. There are many reasons for this.

It is no secret that during the construction of any military airport, ways of destroying it if the luck turns are always foreseen. In the course of the hysterical campaign for opening this airport, the Western media and politicians simply forgot this fact and subsequently found themselves in a tight spot.

The airport near Tuzla is a time bomb and should not be taken lightly, recounts Radovan Kecojevic, the former Yugoslav People's Army's [JNA] top expert for pyrotechnics and the man who mined Tuzla Airport. So far, 14 explosions have reverberated on the runways of this airport, while countless other highly destructive time bombs remain hidden. Unless the explosives at the airport are painstakingly and expertly defused, tragedy is unavoidable. This task, providing that the JNA submits the plan showing where the mines are on the runways, will take several months.

I Did Not Give the Attestation

Before the war, Radovan Kecojevic worked as a pyrotechnics expert at Dubrave Airport and was head of the team that mined the airport's runways. Since he remained in the town after the JNA withdrew from Tuzla—which was taken over by the Muslims—he was pressured by Alija's army to defuse the bombs at the airport, or to at least give them "attestation" that the airport could be used. Kecojevic says that he did not do so for moral reasons, and because he knew that he could not undertake such a task without expert and thorough preparation.

There are 42 storage spaces housing explosives under runway number 1. All these places have been masked and hidden, says Kecojevic. Even if the UN troops were to find the so-called "Finnish highly explosive shells" ["finski fugasi"], they would have trouble defusing them

because of the different ways in which these highly explosive shells are activated.

Kecojevic explained how every army takes care to maintain variety when mining its military airports in order to surprise the enemy if he manages to capture the air base. Our collocutor also stressed that the JNA devoted a lot of attention to this problem. The airport near Tuzla was mined in several different ways, and a combination of various detonators was used.

Some of the storage spaces for explosives at Dubrave Airport have electric detonators, says Kecojevic. It is possible to blow up these storage spaces from a greater or smaller distance with the help of thin electric cables, with immense consequences for the manpower and aircraft at the airport.

The Detonators

However, the highly explosive shells with mechanical detonators, chemical detonators, and those with a combination of the two present the greatest danger, claims this top pyrotechnics expert. Nor, indeed, should we exclude the highly explosive shells that can be remotely activated with radio waves.

The mechanical detonators of the highly explosive shells react to vibrations of the ground and shocks on the runway caused by landing aircraft. For example, if a heavy transport aircraft were to cause vibrations on the runway, an explosion would occur. The same thing can occur with detonators made from glass and plastic ampules, which could go off suddenly during take-off or landing.

There is a great chance of the runway being blown up. I witnessed this myself on 24 May 1992, when the Muslims took me to the airport in order to inspect its condition, says Kecojevic.

Describing what he found at the airport after the JNA left, this expert says that the main runway had nine large craters, 7 meters deep and with a radius of some five to six meters. Runway number 1 was unusable, and in November of the same year, another five chain explosions occurred, causing similar damage.

The situation is somewhat different on the airport's runway number 2, situated in Cigulje near Zivinice. It is possible that some of the highly explosive shells on this runway have been detected and defused. Nevertheless, there were numerous storage spaces for explosives on this runway, and it is certain that not all have been removed.

Radovan Kecojevic does not exclude the possibility of Dubrave Airport being opened. According to him, this can be done after some eight to 10 months of work by pyrotechnics experts and engineering units. Since the Muslims did not have such experts, and since the UN experts have only just recently arrived at the site, they face an enormous task. Before this task is tackled, the French legionnaires have to clear the airport's substantial surface of infantry antitank mines, which were planted without any order.

Tudjman Seeking Izetbegovic's Replacement

AU2103202094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[Text] Croatia is demanding from the U.S. Administration that [Bosnian President] Alija Izetbegovic be replaced before the realization of the Washington accord, which was recently signed by the Muslims and the Croats, begins. This was reported by Banja Luka radio this evening. Branislav Bozic reports:

[Bozic] Before the Washington agreement is realized in practice, according to which the Bosnian Croats and the Muslims would first establish a federation and then form a confederation with Croatia, it is necessary to replace Alija Izetbegovic. This condition was set to the U.S. Administration by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman prior to the signing of the agreement. This was reported by Banja Luka radio tonight, citing well-informed Croatian sources. The report further states that the White House has taken a similar stand for some time. The additional argument was Franjo Tudjman's explanation that he had replaced Mate Boban who, according to him, is an extremist among the Croats.

Not only was Tudjman promised that Alija Izetbegovic would be replaced, but, as Banja Luka radio reports, he was also told that Izetbegovic will be replaced by either Haris Silajdzic or Muhamed Sacirbey, ambassador of the Muslim government in the United Nations. All this, as claimed, will happen very quickly.

Tudjman Concludes U.S. Visit, Discusses Issues

LD2103190494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Several meetings at the UN headquarters in New York marked the end of the visit by a Croatian delegation, headed by President Tudjman, to the United States. The first meeting, with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, lasted 45 minutes and took place in an open and working atmosphere.

President Tudjman thanked the United Nations for its efforts to achieve peace in southeast Europe. However, there can be no peace until the issue of UN-protected areas in Croatia is resolved. Croatia calls for effective control of its borders in accordance with resolution 769 of the UN Security Council. It insists on restoring Croatia's authority over the so-called pink zones. In line with resolution 820 of the UN Security Council, trade with the protected areas cannot be undertaken without exclusive permission from Croatian authorities. Three UN Security Council resolutions, 815, 847 and 871, which confirmed that the protected areas are integral parts of the Republic of Croatia, will continue to provide the foundations for resolving this issue. In Croatia's view, the resolution of the issue of the protected areas will release UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] military units to perform other tasks and will at the same time help to resolve the world organization's financial difficulties.

Croatia called for implementation of the UN General Assembly's resolutions which provide for funds to finance the reconstruction of the destroyed parts of Croatia.

Following his meeting with Butrus-Ghali, President Tudjman met the UN Security Council. President Tudjman stressed Croatia's readiness to cooperate with the UN Security Council and the UN secretary general in implementing the UNPROFOR mandate. The Washington agreements mark a watershed in the peace process, President Tudjman said, and went on to emphasize the major role played by the United States in reaching the agreements. This positive development should be seized and used to achieve peace in Croatia. Peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina will not last unless there is peace in Croatia. Serb extremists refuse to cooperate with Croatia and the authorities in Belgrade have not been behaving in line with the agreement to normalize relations between Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The positive experience from Bosnia-Herzegovina, where a resolute threat of force proved effective, should be used in the efforts to resolve the issue of the protected areas. Croatia has offered a high degree of autonomy to the Serb population in the areas where it was in the majority according to the 1991 census.

In conclusion President Tudjman called on the UN Security Council and the world organization to help create conditions for the resettlement of several hundred thousand refugees.

Government, RSK Negotiating Cease-Fire

AU2203115294 Paris AFP in English 1137 GMT 22 Mar 94

[By Milan Dragovic]

[Text] Zagreb, March 22 (AFP)—Croatian authorities and separatist Serbs from Croatia's Krajina region began negotiating a comprehensive ceasefire agreement Tuesday [22 March] in hopes of building on a Moslem-Croat peace pact for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The meeting at the Russian Embassy here, organised by Russia's special envoy to ex-Yugoslavia Vitaliy Churkin in coordination with U.S. officials, is the first of its kind to be held in the Croatian capital under the auspices of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

The two sides last year held several similar meetings in Norway and Austria—with the Serbs demanding neutral territory for the talks—but without success because of

Serb insistence on autonomy for the Serb-dominated Krajina region which they have proclaimed an independent "republic."

John Mills, the spokesman for the international peace conference on former Yugoslavia, told journalists the discussions would focus on "a comprehensive ceasefire and separation of forces" of the two factions.

The Serbs of Krajina occupy a quarter of Croatian territory, and Mills acknowledged that separating the two forces was a "very difficult problem."

Zagreb has until now opposed any withdrawal of Croatian forces across a demarcation line, which would imply UN involvement, on the ground that this would undermine Croatia's sovereignty.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has ruled out any kind of "enlarged autonomy" for the separatist Serbs and is demanding the unconditional return to Croatia of Krajina, a UN protected area.

Last week he asked the UN Security Council to authorise the use of force to disarm the rebels and he is insisting that the UN peacekeepers, whose mandate for operations in Croatia is up for renewal at the end of March, maintain strict control of the border.

Churkin has worked closely with his White House counterpart Charles Redman, who helped broker the Croat-Moslem agreement on a federation in Bosnia that was sealed in Washington on Friday.

But further progress in efforts to end more than two years of fighting in former Yugoslavia now depends on a solution to the "Serb question".

"The first thing to do is to sign a very solid document, which will ensure that fighting will not return in and around" the Krajina region, Churkin said last week following talks in Zagreb and Belgrade which laid the ground for Tuesday's meeting.

Two international mediators, Norwegian ambassador Kai Aide, representing the United Nations, and his German counterpart, Gert Ahrens, representing the European Union, were attending the meeting here Tuesday along with U.S. Ambassador Peter Galbraith.

Representing the Croatian delegation were Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the secret police and liaison officer with the UNPROFOR, and Slavko Degoricija.

The separatists were represented by Rear Admiral Dusan Rakic, who is the rebel Serbs "defence minister", Slobodan Jarcevic, the "foreign minister" and Mile Novakovic, in charge of security.

Croatian intellectuals, opposed to any dialogue with the Serbs who they consider to be war criminals, have called a protest demonstration in central Zagreb later in the day.

Granic: Negotiations To Start With Serbs

LD2103180794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Norwegian Foreign Minister Godal has hosted a lunch for Mate Granic, vice president of the [Croatian] government and foreign minister. In his toast he stressed the shared responsibility of the international community for resolving the problems of the former Yugoslavia and expressed appreciation for Croatia's way of resolving humanitarian problems. He also offered further humanitarian aid and accepted with pleasure the Croatian minister's invitation to visit our country.

Speaking about the agreement reached in Washington, he said that it was very good and that it would receive positive reactions in Norway. Croatian Minister Mate Granic then held a news conference at which he explained the importance of the Washington agreement. He added that within the next 10 to 15 days negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina's organization will also start with the Bosnian Serbs. At this news conference, which attracted a great deal of attention among Norwegian media, Minister Granic also explained Croatia's standpoints regarding the resolution of occupied areas in the Republic of Croatia. He stressed that the Croatian authorities are willing to give local autonomy to the Serbs in the protected areas as well as all rights in keeping with international laws.

Granic stressed the importance of normalization of relations between Zagreb and Belgrade and mutual recognition among all the states of the former Yugoslavia. He added that this would be impossible without the reintegration of the protected areas into Croatia. [passage omitted]

RSK Assembly Discusses Platform for Talks

AU2103161494 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Report by Drgoljub Stankic from Knin]

[Text] The assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina is continuing its work. The deputies are trying to adopt a platform of work of the Krajina delegation at the negotiations in Zagreb tomorrow. Dragoljub Stankic reports from Knin:

[Stankic] The assembly commissions met in the morning. This was followed by a discussion in the assembly on amendments to several bills. The speeches heard today were much calmer and more composed than the ones heard yesterday, before the resignation of Bjegovic's cabinet. Passions have calmed and everyone is now turning toward the most important issue—the negotiations with the Croatian delegation that will be held in the Russian Embassy in Zagreb tomorrow. This was also the reason for the session of the foreign affairs commission.

It is worth mentioning that the views of the commission, the parliament, and the government concerning the negotiations in Zagreb are identical. The parliament last night confirmed the composition of the Krajina delegation at the talks. Its members are: Admiral Dusan Rakic, defense minister and head of the commission; General Mile Novakovic, state security adviser of the president of the republic; and Foreign Minister Slobodan Jarcevic. The first comments here are that the negotiations with the Croatian side have been going on for a long time, ranging from New York, Geneva, Oslo, to Dobanovci, and that nothing will be changed in the (?continuation).

Here in Knin they are particularly stressing the importance of the report by UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali who, requesting the extension of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate, is mentioning Croatia and Krajina as two entities.

Therefore, in the negotiations, the Krajina delegation will insist on the withdrawal of the Croatian Army from the occupied territories in Krajina, as well as demand the extension of UNPROFOR's mandate for 12 months, which is identical to the stand of the UN secretary general.

RSK To Demand Withdrawal of Croat Army

LD2103182794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 21 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Veljko Knezevic, head of the Yugoslav bureau in Zagreb, said today that he and an eight-member bureau delegation were to travel to Zagreb this week. He told Belgrade radio's "An Argument More" program that humanitarian questions, the reestablishing of telephone and traffic links, payment of pensions, and other similar questions would be the primary tasks for the bureaus in Zagreb and Belgrade. Knezevic said it was necessary to raise the relations between Yugoslavia and Croatia to a higher level, which would imply opening of consular missions.

Commenting on the talks scheduled for tomorrow at the Russian Embassy in Zagreb between representatives of the republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia, Knezevic said it was very positive that the Serb side had agreed to the talks and was leaving with a clear aim to end combat activities as soon as possible.

The head of the Yugoslav bureau in Zagreb believes that very important issues, such as the opening of traffic and telephone links between Croatia and Yugoslavia, were impossible to resolve without the consent of the republic of Serb Krajina, since they cross its territory. The solution for these problems, Knezevic stressed, can be found only in direct negotiations between Zagreb and Knin. A solution for Serb-Croat relations should be sought in the same context, he believes.

Slobodan Jarcevic, the foreign minister of the republic of Serb Krajina, told the same program that at the talks tomorrow with Croatia in Zagreb, the Serb side would demand from the other side first of all to sign a peace agreement, but not to the detriment of the republic of Serb Krajina. A withdrawal of the Croatian army and police from the occupied Serb territories will be demanded, Jarcevic said. He recalled that the United Nations had guaranteed territorial delimitation between the two ethnic communities on this territory in 1991. "If the world then provided guarantees for the borders it should now preserve them," Jarcevic said. Asked if he feared the trip to Zagreb, Jarcevic said: "We do not fear travelling to any foreign country, not even to Croatia."

Human Rights Federation Criticizes Government

AU2203114194 Paris AFP in English 1124 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] Vienna, March 22 (AFP)—The International Helsinki Federation has criticised Croatia for not living up to human rights promises and allowing the violent expulsion of minority Serbs from state housing. More than 5,000 people were thrown out of their homes illegally by Croatian security forces during 1992 and 1993, many of them beaten, threatened and robbed in the process, it said in a report released Tuesday [22 March]. "Despite assurances (...) forced and illegal expulsions, acts of violence and the absence of all protection for their victims continues in Croatia," it commented.

The report gave details of 21 cases, including one where the victim died, and criticised Croatia for not keeping a promise made in December to open inquiries on the many complaints brought to the authorities. The victims were Croat citizens or long-standing residents of non-Croat origin, mostly Serb, who lived in homes built by the former federal Yugoslav army for veterans and their families.

Since Croatian independence in 1991, the homes have been under the control of the Ministry of Defence.

Turkey Grants Most-Favored-Nation Status

AU2103213294 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 21 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "Most-Favored Nation Status"]

[Text] Macedonian Minister of Economy Petrus Stefanov and Turkish Minister of Labor and Social Security Mehmet Mogultay signed an agreement on trade and economic cooperation, granting Macedonia [FYROM—the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] a status of a most-favored nation in trade. They also discussed possible aid from Turkey to alleviate losses due to the latest Greek embargo against Macedonia. The Macedonian side also asked for aid in food, especially corn and wheat, and oil derivatives. The talks included discussion on building a modern highway to connect Skopje and Istanbul through Sofia, and a parallel railroad net. The Turkish and Macedonian politicians also agreed to cooperation in the field of tourism, i.e. on joint presentation of tourist and historical attractions.

Gligorov Against 'Orthodox' Alliances

AU2103132394 Vienna PROFIL in German 21 Mar 94 p 72

[Interview with President Kiro Gligorov by Misha Glenny in Skopje; date not given: "'Against Orthodox Bloc'"]

[Text] [Glenny] Mr. President, were you surprised by the Greek blockade against your country in February?

[Gligorov] Yes. When they first tried—in October 1992—they did not achieve anything. The blockade could not prevent our recognition by the European Union [EU] states. The impetus for it came from an intra-Greek power struggle. Had the Mitsotakis government remained in power then we would have achieved a solution together with Vance and Owen. Yet, the new head of government, Papandreou, feels bound by his anti-Macedonian statements from the election campaign and is trying to harness the EU to his cart. Yet, six EU countries have already recognized us—and now even the United States. The Greek embargo is a nervous reaction to our success.

[Glenny] The Albanian party has split up into two factions. The radicals have requested identical rights for the Albanians as for the Macedonians at all levels. Does this worry you?

[Gligorov] The division of the Albanian ethnic group is a normal democratic process. We must pursue dialogue with all groups. So far we have survived because we have avoided the kind of nationalism that erupted everywhere in the former Yugoslavia.

[Glenny] Do you think that the U.S.-supported Muslim-Croat alliance in Bosnia-Herzegovina will work?

[Gligorov] I have always been of the opinion that Bosnia-Herzegovina should be preserved as one. The Muslim-Croat alliance is one step forward. Yet, how will the Serbs react? The United States is afraid that the war might spread to the south, and it seems to be interested in preserving Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. If the dispute were to come here it would mean a new war in the Balkans—which is why I cannot understand why Greece is acting the way it is. If war were to break out here it would affect all Balkan countries.

[Glenny] Is it true that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic invited you to a Christian-Orthodox alliance with Greece and Cyprus?

[Gligorov] There is the idea of a large bloc, which should comprise Russia, Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, Macedonia, Greece, and Cyprus. Yet, Macedonia is looking toward Europe and is against the creation of new alliances. I frankly said so to Milosevic when he proposed to me the creation of such an Orthodox alliance from Belgrade via Skopje to Athens and Cyprus. I said that Macedonia would never join such an alliance that is based on religion and nationalities. The Greeks are afraid of a Muslim alliance, but we do not want that, either. We are hoping for an associative membership agreement with the EU, which might ultimately lead to membership in 15 years. I also wrote to President Clinton that we would like to participate in NATO's Partnership for Peace.

Four Albanians Arrested for Arms Possession

AU1803211794 Skopje MIC in English 18 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "New Arrests Over Illegal Possession of Arms"]

[Text] According to the announcement of the Municipal court in Tetovo, four people have been arrested in the past few days, all of Albanian nationality, "due to the founded suspicion of committing the criminal act illegal possession of firearms."

The Court says that a "larger quantity of automatic guns and ammunition" was discovered on the people.

Due to these arrests, yesterday's regular session of the Tetovo Local Assembly war interrupted in the morning hours, only to continue at seven o'clock in the evening, with the presence of the Tetovo chief of police, who informed the Assembly about the arrests.

The session of the Assembly was held behind closed doors.

Tetovo Assembly Demands Release

AU2203092294 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 21 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "Awaiting Answer From Frckovski"]

[Text] The urgent session of the Tetovo city parliament, held March 17 on the occasion of arresting several Albanians from Tetovo and its surroundings, and also attended, on insistence of the deputies, by [Interior] Minister Frckovski, brought several resolutions. The city officials demanded unconditional releasing of the arrested citizens, beginning with ex-PDP [the Party for Democratic Prosperity] Secretary Mithat Emini and ending with the most recently arrested group of Albanian citizens on March 16. Furthermore, they requested arrests and oppression of Albanians to cease in future, because, they claimed political process are fabricated in order to discredit NDP [the Peoples' Democratic Party] and PDP and the Albanians at all. They accuse the government of creating an atmosphere of anxiety with an aim to put PDP members under control and to present the Albanians as a factor introducing instability in the country. The session was interrupted to be continued March 22, when Internal Minister Ljubomir Frckovski and Justice Minister Tuse Gosev will appear in person and inform the Tetovo parliament of their decision on the submitted demands.

NDP Seeks 'Urgent' Release

AU2203092194 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 21 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "Arrest of Albanians—Political Case"]

[Text] In reference to the latest arrests of Albanian citizens, the Albanian People's Democratic Party appealed to all government bodies to order an urgent release of all citizens imprisoned in this political and fabricated process.

They warn the government has an obligation to treat this case in the same way it did similar attempts by certain Macedonians to organise themselves. Otherwise, they say the Macedonian Government takes on a responsibility for possible worsening of the situation in the country, which is something Macedonia [FYROM—The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] needs the least at the moment.

Federal

Kontic Announces Changes in Cabinet

LD2203141394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1334 GMT 22 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—Federal Prime Minister Dr. Radoje Kontic has informed the Yugoslav Assembly about changes in his cabinet.

According to Dr. Kontic, Nikola Sainovic, hitherto Serbian prime minister, and Uros Klikovac, currently a federal deputy and a member of the federal government's legal council, have been appointed as deputy prime ministers.

At the same time, the federal prime minister informed the Assembly that he has relieved Asim Telacevic from his duties as deputy prime minister because he is taking up another post.

Shortage of Oil, Money Obstructs Sowing

AU2103135794 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 94 p 7

[S. Kostic report: "Farmers' Apprehensions"]

[Excerpts] The second springtime sowing under the international sanctions has started, with much apprehension being felt among the farmers.

It seems that the primeval fear of heaven's (dis)favor is the least present among them, because other hardships accompanying their work are as just difficult and dangerous.

According to the adopted balance of energy supplies, it is necessary to provide around 120,000 metric tons of oil for the farming work that should be carried out in the first half of the year. In happy times that amount would be no problem. Now, because of the unprecedented embargo imposed on Yugoslavia, the importation of oil derivatives, except meager amounts through the black market, has been made totally impossible, while the home manufacturers are hardly capable of meeting one fourth of the needs. [passage omitted]

When some 400,000 tractors spread out over the 2.5 million hectares in late March and early April, any delay in supplying them with oil could be fatal, because for farmers time is of the essence. There is no second chance for those who miss the best time for sowing, provided that the weather is favorable as well.

Last fall over 300,000 hectares were sown with wheat. Thanks to the mild "poor people's winter," as farmers put it, crops have welcomed the first warm days in quite a good condition, but now mineral fertilizers are needed to boost nutrition. However, it is well-known that there is a shortage of fertilizers. The importance of reinforced nutrition is shown by the fact that one kilogram of fertilizer quintuples the wheat yield. [passage omitted]

The sowing of sugar beet is in full swing, but few people believe that the 100,000 hectares that farmers are hoping for will be sowed with that plant. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Russian Connections of Prime Minister-Designate

94BA0201B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 94 p 21

[Article by Branka Andjelkovic: "A Hand Outstretched to the Russian Brethren"]

[Text] Mirko Marjanovic, general director of the export-import firm Progres, who last year was proclaimed to be one of the 15 most successful businessmen in Serbia, has been named by Slobodan Milosevic to fill the vacant office of Serbian prime minister, thereby emerging as the winner of the lottery that has been going on in recent days.

Although he has not been praised to the skies by the government media, as is the custom in such situations, Mr. Marjanovic, we have learned, charmed the Serbian president so much that in a responsible post like that of Serbian prime minister he wanted to see none other than the candidate we have mentioned. If Slobodan Milosevic had had his way at once, the news that Mirko "Miki" Marjanovic was the choice for new prime minister would have been stale by now, at least a month old. But it was obviously difficult for the director of Progres to give up his old post, where he was now in his fourth term, and, as the employees themselves say, even they do not remember when Mr. Marjanovic came to that firm as a promising young executive.

Gas

In actuality, the director of Progres, contrary to many people's impression, has not spent his entire working life in that position. He began his brilliant career as an economist in his native Knin, where he worked for 12 years in TVIK [Knin Screw Factory], climbing to the position of commercial director thanks to his zeal and knowledge.

But in 1973 he exchanged Knin for Moscow and TVIK for Progres. In the years that followed he lived in Russia, where he became manager of the Progres representative office, and it is assumed that his now-famous "Russian" connections date back even to that time.

Here is how he described his passion for that country in an interview :

"A love for Russia was nurtured among the people of Krajina and passed down from generation to generation, so that it was also a dream of mine to see that country and to work in it."

Conceiving that slender thread between the Serbian and Russian identity as something very ancient, as general

director of Progres Mr. Marjanovic built his career after 1970 on that cornerstone. When almost all Yugoslav firms began to turn their backs on the Russian market as the 1980's were coming to a close, he embraced it with still greater fervor, so that in the last few years Russian-Serb business collaboration has been flying like the wind.

Apart from the 1992 signing of what published sources called the biggest contract ever between Russia and Serbia, calling for commodity trade of $3.5 billion a year, a joint Russian-Serbian venture Gastrejding was also formed under the sponsorship of Progres and acquired a monopoly over the importing of gas from Russia. At that time the total value of that transaction was estimated at $180 million in both directions. In late 1993 a contract was signed with the Russians for a gas pipeline through Bulgaria to southern Serbia which is supposed to bring incredible prosperity to the "southern railroad line," and rumor has it that Belgrade has been heated this winter with Russian gas.

All of this is certainly thanks to Marjanovic the businessman, "since he is a man in whom the Russian side and the government of the Russian Federation place the greatest confidence." And the Russians who have confidence in Miki Marjanovic are not be underestimated. The list of those who are his friends includes Yuriy Brezhnev (Leonid's son), with whom he had a wild time drinking French cognac at Crazy Horse in Paris, Viktor Chernomyrdin, Russian prime minister, and Gennadiy Shikin, Russian ambassador in Belgrade, with whom he spent New Year's Eve in 1994 in the restaurant Dva Jelena, singing in his powerful tenor voice a mixture of old Serbian songs from the city and Russian ballads.

Aid

When all that is taken into account, it perhaps becomes clearer why Marjanovic the businessman is so much in favor with the Serbian president. After all, in addition to all those transactions known to the public, there have also been those others, which are perhaps a guarantee to Serbia that the Russians still have a keen interest in them on both the economic and political fronts. "After all, everyone who knows Mirko Marjanovic says that he makes his biggest moves in such a way that few people find out about them."

But the successes of Progres and its general director in Russia and elsewhere (32 representative offices in the world) do not seem to be so applicable on home ground. We have learned that 70 percent of the work force of approximately 1,200 are on mandatory leave. Malicious tongues would say that in Progres there are many people from Krajina to whom Director Marjanovic has entrusted good positions within the country and abroad.

Someone has called Marjanovic "mother of the Serbian people" for all he has done for the Serbs in Bosnia and the krajinas. In terms of food, clothing, medicine, and perhaps other things, those Serbian lands have received from the director of Progres aid valued at $3 billion, "since aid to the needy is our debt and our obligation as human beings."

Aside from all, Miki Marjanovic is also a distinguished sports figure as president of the Partizan Soccer Club since 1989, and, according to his worshippers, he put that team on a sound footing: "Success in competition must be aimed at profit, but profit must in turn be used to create a strong team that can achieve the greatest success."

For all his success and ability, Mr. Marjanovic lives modestly in a four-room apartment on Banjica, although, it is said of this man "of stature," that a smallish villa is in the works and will be built by Progres.

In view of this portrait of a business executive, it comes as a surprise that some of the opposition (the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] and DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia]) should say that they would withhold support from him. This perhaps lends credence to the rumors that Milosevic's real candidate is after all someone else. But, as Mirko "Miki" Marjanovic once said: "At this point we all need to be on the same line, the line of Serbia, the line of patriotism in defense of the country and our people. And as Dr. Mira Markovic has said: 'Even the wolves stick together in a blizzard.'"